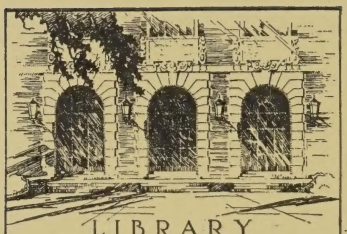

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WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF GUTZKOW

By

OTTO P. SCHINNERER

Sometime Carl Schurz Fellow in German
Columbia University

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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1924

Columbia University Germanic Studies

WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF GUTZKOW

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK

SALES AGENTS
HUMPHREY MILFORD
AMEN CORNER, E.C.
LONDON
EDWARD EVANS & SONS, LTD.
30 NORTH SZECHUEN ROAD
SHANGHAI

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Printed from type. Published June, 1924

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PREFACE

The author's interest in Gutzkow dates back to the fall of 913 when, as a graduate student in the University of Illinois nder Professor O. E. Lessing, in a course on the History of erman Literature in the 19th Century, he was asked to present paper on "Wolfgang Menzel als Denunziant." The writer's eneral investigation at that time convinced him of Gutzkow's lative innocence of the various charges made against him by lenzel. Interest in this subject, however, was supplanted by hers and no further researches were made along these lines ntil Professor Robert Herndon Fife, in the fall of 1920, pointed it to the author the need of a comprehensive study of utzkow's reactions toward woman and the problem of wo- an's emancipation. An examination of the Gutzkow litera- re made it clear that the lack of such a study constituted a rious gap in an important epoch of German literature.

During his sojourn in Berlin in the winter of 1921–1922 the uthor was enabled to consult, in the State and University braries, the files of the various journals edited by Gutzkow. ere he also had the great privilege of meeting Dr. H. H. ouben, the eminent authority on Gutzkow, whose courtesy discussing with the writer the general outlines of this in- stigation and whose great kindness in showing him the atchless collection of his private library will ever be a source pleasure and gratitude.

The author's manuscript had the benefit of the mature advice Professor H. H. L. Schulze and of Professor F. W. J. euser, both of whom made many valuable suggestions. The tter has also given of his valuable time for the arduous task proof-reading. But more than to anyone else the writer

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wishes to acknowledge his deep indebtedness to Professo Robert Herndon Fife, without whose inspiration, constant en couragement and numerous and invaluable suggestions thi monograph would never have been completed.

O. P. S.

New York City
May, 1924

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INTRODUCTION

In a certain sense all great literature is self-revelation and self- expression. In some cases the poet in his sovereign capacity as creator selects or constructs his raw material at will and then proceeds by virtue of his divine power to instill in it the breath of his own life. In other cases the raw material itself is part and parcel of the author's own life which he utilizes, transforms, and adapts to his particular purpose.

Many of Gutzkow's works are "confessions," in which we can clearly distinguish the groundwork of personal experiences from the superimposed structure of the invented fable. In authors like Goethe and Hebbel we take this as a matter of course. But in Gutzkow it is somewhat surprising, because after all he was more a man of reason and understanding than of emotion and impulse. With his keen interest in all the burning questions of the day, with his predominantly journalistic and critical activity, with the didactic purpose in so many of his works, we hardly expect to find, in the plots and characters of his dramas and fiction, a portrayal of his own inner problems and conflicts. Furthermore, Gutzkow was an extremely prolific author, who in the sixty-seven years of his life wrote more than Goethe[1] and in view of his preoccupation with practical affairs necessarily had to produce very rapidly. For these reasons, as Houben has pointed out,[2] the view has been current that Gutzkow, a clever and brilliant writer, simply manufactured his works, so to speak, without any very deep personal interest in them. Nevertheless, a closer study of his works, and an examination of his letters and notebooks reveal

[1] Cf. Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* Berlin, 1901, p. VI.
[2] *Ibid.,* 281.

a highly interesting mixture of truth and poetry in many of his plays and novels.

Nowhere does this blend of reality and fiction appear in such interesting forms as in our author's attitude toward women. Here is a field where the events of his life gave rise to earnest and ardent efforts to incorporate his ideas in theoretical as well as imaginative forms. Not merely are the sex problems treated and the female types portrayed by Gutzkow based on his experiences, but his views of woman and of woman's emancipation are also determined and colored by these experiences. This fact is of especial importance for an understanding of his mental background during the year 1835, when he shocked his contemporaries by the publication of his *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers Vertrauten Briefen über die Lucinde* and *Wally, die Zweiflerin.*

In the first chapter, therefore, we shall review the facts of Gutzkow's personal relations with women, so far as they have become available. Our account will be based primarily on Gutzkow's autobiographical writings and on his published correspondence. For supplementary information we shall draw on the works of Houben, Proelss, Wehl, and Gensel. It must be stated at the outset, however, that much of Gutzkow's correspondence is still inaccessible. Prof. Dr. Houben has informed the author that he has in his possession several thousand letters which have not been published, that Gutzkow's letters to Therese have never been recovered, and that Therese's letters to Gutzkow, although in the hands of the latter's heirs, have not been made available for the Gutzkow student. Within these limits the present investigation aims to be more complete than any studies heretofore made.

In the light of the knowledge gained by this investigation we shall then proceed, in the second chapter, to examine Gutzkow's works and seek to show that they reflect faithfully his

changing experiences. This will be done in chronological order as far as practicable. However, we shall not consider *Wally, die Zweiflerin* in that chapter, because it does not, in the same sense as his other works, reflect his experiences directly in its conflict and characters. It also entails a discussion of many other phases of his life and work. This will be reserved for the third chapter, which is to be a comprehensive investigation of Gutzkow's attitude towards woman's emancipation and free love, not merely during the critical period of his life when he published *Wally,* but also during the years preceding and following it. In tracing here in detail the various influences which caused him to proclaim his radical opinions on love and marriage, we shall take occasion to point out the bearing of his personal fates on this whole question.

WOMAN IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF GUTZKOW

CHAPTER I

GUTZKOW'S PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH WOMEN

In tracing and describing Gutzkow's personal relations with women, with a view to determining the influence they had on his thought and work, we must not overlook the primary relationship between mother and son. An incidental remark in one of his stories is very illuminating on this point: "What we men so often hate in the other sex is due—who will deny it?—to our experiences with fiancées and wives; but what we truly love in women is due to the recollection of our mother or of a sister, who stood the test of unselfishness." [1] The frequent references to his mother in his autobiographical writings likewise bear witness to his profound love and admiration for her.

She is described by him in *Aus der Knabenzeit* as the opposite of his father, who had a restless adventurous spirit, a passionate temper, who was full of enthusiasm, easily roused to anger, but quickly reconciled and appeased.[2] Compared with him she was "die Masshaltende, Besonnene, Vernünftige, Zügelnde und Lenkende." [3]

She was able to read, but had never acquired the art of

[1] *Der Emporblick.* H. H. Houben, *Karl Gutzkows Ausgewählte Werke,* Leipzig, no date, VI, 124.
[2] *Ibid.,* X, 51.
[3] *Ibid.,* 61.

writing. Her vision was limited, her knowledge of the world did not extend beyond her immediate environment. But within her proper sphere she was practical, level-headed, efficient. The management of the meagre family income was in her hands, the father merely being allowed to draw a small daily sum for his personal needs.[4]

Gutzkow emphasizes the fact that she was a plain woman of the people, fundamentally sound, upright and honest. Her lack of education was compensated for by natural shrewdness and practical common-sense. " Sie kam von den Prinzipien der Stabilität her." [5] All the relatives on his mother's side—she was the oldest of eighteen children—" hatten etwas Sinniges, Sanftes, Geregeltes, Feines, Bescheidenes." [6]

Gutzkow's home training fell largely to her lot. In the midst of her household duties she found little time for systematic moral guidance. She would frequently give way to outbursts of irritation and mete out severe punishments. But in case of need, in sickness and other troubles, she would outdo herself in giving aid and advice; she would be all love and devotion.[7]

She was a pious soul, but not so narrowly dogmatic as her husband. Where the father spoke only in terms of severest condemnation, as of suicides, for instance, she would be more charitable and invoke the grace of God.[8]

She even had words of sympathy for Sand, the murderer of Kotzebue, whom our author's father could mention only with extreme abhorrence.[9] Likewise, when his father inveighed against the theatre, which in his narrow pietism he considered the work of Satan, the mother would be more

[4] *Idem.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 51.
[6] *Ibid.*, 52.
[7] *Ibid.*, 60.
[8] *Ibid.*, 79.
[9] *Ibid.*, 133.

tolerant and point to the fact that even the King went to the theatre.[10]

On the whole she was a loving mother, devoted to her children, living in accordance with the light vouchsafed to her. In later years, when his own bitter experiences with fiancées and wives threatened to undermine Gutzkow's faith in women, it was undoubtedly the recollection of his mother which softened his views of womankind. He was probably thinking principally of his mother when he wrote to Alexander Weill on January 5, 1843: "All that you write me about my parents and my sister is truly soothing to me. How it often grieves me that I must mean so little in the lives of these good people. . . . The emancipation of children from their parents is one of the most cruel of all." [11]

At the same time, however, he was an involuntary witness of many quarrels and violent disputes between his parents, and was early made to realize that married life is not necessarily all sweetness and harmony. He has vividly described such a scene:

"Nicht ängstlicher können die Vögel vor dem Sturm flattern, als ein Kinderherz bangt, wenn die Wolken ehelichen Unfriedens heraufziehen, die Leidenschaften schon im voraus zu plänkeln anfangen, noch nicht einmal pelotonweise losstürmen. Kommen dann aber die vollen Salven, die Kreuzfeuer, Ladung auf Ladung, o wie fliegen da die jammernden Friedensstifter hin und her und beschwören die Parteien bei allen Himmeln, bei allen Paradiesen, abzulassen von so schnöder, wilder Menschennatur, die selbst Eltern, näschst Gott den heiligsten Begriff, entstellen kann! Mit der Zeit freilich kommt die Gewöhnung, die Gewöhnung selbst an ein solches Familienunheil." [12]

His uncle Christian likewise did not hesitate to relate his matrimonial difficulties.[13] Such scenes and accounts were not

[10] *Ibid.*, 226.

[11] Alexander Weill, *Briefe hervorragender verstorbener Männer Deutschlands*, Zürich, 1889, 27 f.

[12] Houben, W., X, 96.

[13] *Ibid.*, 159.

calculated to develop excessive idealism in a young boy with regard to the relation of the sexes.

His innocence in sexual matters received a rude shock, when in his tenth or eleventh year his older brother, a soldier in the artillery, had a frank talk with him.[14] This brother was plain-spoken in regard to his own numerous love affairs. "The red thread of love and the charms of women running through such stories did by no means escape the child's attention. All this had a certain indefinable influence with questionable consequences."[15]

It will serve no particular purpose to attempt to establish the identity of various girls who attracted Gutzkow during his boyhood years. These were innocent affairs, adoration and worship from a distance without even an exchange of words, and of short duration. "The schoolboy's infatuations fortunately do not last very long. Love and Passow's Greek dictionary are not compatible."[16] It is merely interesting to note that even before he entered the Gymnasium his affections were divided between two girls, one in the world of poverty, the world of his parents, the other in the world of wealth, as represented by his benefactor Minter,[17] a situation we shall meet with again both in his life and in his works.

The first serious complication, an involuntary engagement, came in 1829, during his first year at the University, when he was only eighteen years old. In his *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* he suddenly interrupts the account of his literary development by the confession that he was early susceptible to the charms of the other sex, and that love absorbed fully half of his interests during this period:

[14] *Ibid.*, 170.
[15] *Ibid.*, 184.
[16] *Ibid.*, 235.
[17] *Ibid.*, 190.

"Das Gefühl der Vereinsamung eines gegen den Strom Schwimmenden, der Druck, welcher immer und immer auf dem verkannten Gemüt lastete, der Mangel an äusserem Glück kam diesem Zuge des Herzens und—der Sinne entgegen. . . . Frühe schon hatte ich gegen die Rabbinenweisheit der Entsagung und Selbstkasteiung geeifert, hatte in Heinrich Heines Unterscheidung zwischen den beiden Lebensprinzipien, dem Nazarenertum und dem Hellenismus,[18] einen seiner Lichtblicke gefunden, hatte das, was sich die Menschen ihre Tugend nennen und an sich und an andern glorifizieren, so oft nur für eine körperlich bedingte Empfindungslosigkeit und Stumpfheit der Nerven, nach späteren Erfahrungen für die Alleinbeschäftigung mit ihrem Ehrgeiz, die Narzissusgenüge an der Widerspiegelung ihres geliebten Ich erkannt. . . . Früh schloss ich leidenschaftliche Freundschaften. . . . Frauen gegenüber fühlt dann freilich der Jüngling nicht Freundschaft, sondern sofort Liebe. In dem Spiegel eines Mädchenauges fängt sich ihm die ganze Welt. Und sie fängt sich ihm nur in harmonischer Schöne. Des Mondes blasses Licht, das Geflüster einer vertrauenden Seele beim Wandeln unter den sanftbewegten Wipfeln eines Baumganges, die Beratschlagungen über künftige, vielleicht schon gemeinsam gewordene Lebensziele—in diese bestrickenden Zauber, die nicht minder von Neander, Schleiermacher, Boeckh, Lachmann abzogen, war ich allzufrühe geraten. Der erste Teil meiner *Seraphine* ist selbsterlebt. Die dort geschilderte Beklagenswerte hiess Leopoldine Spohn."[19]

This is the only reference to this episode to be found in Gutzkow's reminiscences, but the account of it in *Seraphine* is clear enough to give us the principal facts.[20] If, therefore, in accordance with Gutzkow's confession,[21] we identify him

[18] Heine's work here referred to, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland,* did not appear until 1834.

[19] Houben, W., XI, 23 ff.

[20] Cf. also Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* p. 15.

[21] Cf. also the confession in the concluding paragraph of *Seraphine:* "Arme Seraphine! Was drängte mich, das Bild deines Lebens vor allem Volke aufzurollen und dein gebrochenes Herz, als ein Kunstwerk, von Händen anatomieren zu lassen, die nichts daran schonen werden, weil sie es für Dichtung halten, da es doch eitel Schmerz und Wahrheit ist, Wahrheit, die du erlebtest, und Schmerz, den ich selber—soll ich nun Edmund oder Arthur sein—mitgeduldet und mitgeschaffen habe! . . . Wirklichkeit war es, wie das nächtliche Rauschen meiner Feder jetzt auf dem weissen Papiere, Wirklichkeit wie die Uhr, die da eben draussen eine Stunde nach Mitternacht schlägt! Es musste abgetan werden!" (*Gesammelte Werke,* Frankfurt a.M., 1845, III, 266 f.)

with Arthur Stahl, the hero in the novel, we get the following account: Gutzkow had joined one of the singing societies, which were popular at that time,[22] and there had met a charming young girl, "with rosy cheeks, dark hair and blue eyes," with whom he fell in love almost at first sight. But she was indifferent and did not reciprocate his feelings. He was favored, however, by another girl, Leopoldine Spohn, who was far less attractive, but of more than average intelligence. She was temperamental and her ideas were somewhat confused and eccentric. One day, when the whole group was off on a picnic in the country, he had withdrawn from the others, vexed and sad because of his unrequited love. Leopoldine now approached him and engaged him in a conversation. Her unconventional manner appealed to him and he remained her companion for the rest of the day. She then opened her heart to him and with tears in her eyes confessed how unhappy she was, how the ill-treatment received at the hands of her step-mother made her life miserable. Gutzkow, carried away by compassion, sought to comfort her and offered her his protection. The following morning he repeated these sentiments in an extravagant letter, intoxicated by his own words. She, however, considered his effusions a declaration of love and without much ado introduced him to her family as her fiancé. He was too much taken aback to protest, but his surprise grew still greater when he recognized in Leopoldine's step-sister his real and true love.[23]

We may feel inclined to consider it a humorous situation, but for Gutzkow it was a serious and tragic matter. This state of affairs continued for many weeks. He felt in duty bound to adhere to the engagement, while he was consumed by

[22] The *Morgenblatt* published, April 11–16, 1833, a "Bambocciade" from Gutzkow's pen entitled "Die Singekränzchen."

[23] In the novel she is called Auguste. Her real name was Bertha Spohn. Cf. Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde*, p. 15.

love for the sister. In a letter to Menzel he indicates that he was even on the point of making public announcement of his engagement in the newspapers.[24]

One day he spoke to the two sisters in eloquent words and with deep compassion of the fate of Bürger, of the latter's love for his wife's sister. Thereupon Leopoldine, who had gradually come to resign all hope, led him to her sister Bertha with the words: She will love you. This was the turning point: "A person in love, I theorized, will love no matter what happens, and one who is able to renounce, does not love, I concluded. Seraphine ought not to give you up. Seraphine ought to hate her sister since I love her. Seraphine ought to cling to me, even though I should drag her by her hair! And so I cast her aside." [25]

This experience, however, did not leave very deep scars. It did not prevent him from falling in love again almost immediately. During the summer of 1830 he made the acquaintance of Rosalie Scheidemantel, who was in every respect worthy of his attentions.[26] In his reminiscences she is described as "a sixteen-year old brunette, of rather small stature, with large blue eyes, long black lashes, and snow-white teeth. She was not essentially beautiful, but a charm emanated from all her spiritual and physical qualities. The most striking thing about her was her voice, which was so

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[25] *Werke,* 1845, III, 98.

[26] The sources for our information regarding Rosalie are very meager. Apart from the facts culled from Gutzkow's *Rückblicke auf mein Leben,* the author is indebted to Houben, "Karl Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung," *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte,* 1910–1911, II, 609–616 and *Gutzkow-Funde,* cf. index; Proelss, *Das Junge Deutschland,* Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 262 f., 374 ff. Neither Houben nor Proelss, however, add materially to the facts in the *Rückblicke,* except that Proelss has printed several letters from Rosalie to Gutzkow during the latter's sojourn in Leipzig in the early part of 1834.

vibrant, so low-pitched, that it lent to all she said an air of unexpected maturity." [27] According to Proelss, J. Loewenberg, the biographer of Humboldt, and others who knew Rosalie personally, were full of her praise.[28]

Her father, part-owner of a lamp factory, a quiet unobtrusive person, with a great fondness for books, took a keen interest in the literary friend of his daughter. Her mother, on the other hand, was inclined to be tyrannical. She was a woman of little education and culture, but fond of having company about, and on Saturdays had open house for a select group of young people. To one of these gatherings, at Kochstrasse 70, corner of Friedrichstrasse, in Berlin,[29] Gutzkow was introduced by a friend. Here he read some of his early poetry and soon became a regular visitor.[30]

Rosalie had received a good education and was by nature a bright and gifted girl. She took a sympathetic interest in his literary ambitions and made every endeavor to follow him in his poetic flights. The love of this girl was a ray of sunshine in his otherwise drab and gloomy existence. The hardships and privations in his struggles to support himself, the depressing atmosphere in his own home, were almost forgotten in her presence. The resulting engagement, "nach zweijährigem Minnewerben," [31] gave every promise of a happy and permanent union.

However, at the beginning of this courtship Gutzkow was still a candidate in theology. This fact made him particularly desirable in the eyes of Rosalie's mother, a fanatic in religion, and Rosalie herself who worshipped Schleiermacher looked

[27] Houben, W., XI, 25.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 262.
[29] Houben, W., XI, 44.
[30] Houben, "Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung," p. 610.
[31] The engagement, therefore, took place in the summer of 1832.

up with admiration to the future clergyman. On Whitsunday of the year 1832, Gutzkow even delivered a sermon on Schleiermacher's pulpit in the church of the Holy Trinity in Berlin.[32] But his increasing scepticism soon caused him to renounce theology. His real interests and ambitions all pointed to a literary career. It was merely the thought of Rosalie and the prospects of earning an assured livelihood that induced him to prepare for the examinations as "Oberlehrer." After some hesitation Rosalie was persuaded to approve of this change.

Nevertheless, for the two years after his engagement there was a constant struggle between the desire to secure a position with a fixed income and the desire to become a literary free-lance.[33] From November, 1831 until April, 1832 he was in Stuttgart as the "adjutant" of Menzel,[34] but he resisted the belletristic temptation and returned to Berlin with the firm intention of passing the required examinations, and entering upon the career of a teacher in the Gymnasium.[35] He actually reported for the examination and completed the written part of the requirements. The oral examination was postponed for the time being. During the summer of this year the degree of doctor of philosophy was likewise conferred upon him by the University of Jena. In September, 1832, however, we find him in Heidelberg, matriculated in the Faculty of Law. He had now definitely given up the thought of a teaching career, but in order to procure the means necessary to support a wife, he had now decided to prepare himself for the legal profession. This change in his plans, however, had already caused a temporary break in his relations with Rosalie.

[32] *Rückblicke.* Houben, W., XI, 53; *Gutzkow-Funde,* p. 322. The sermon is printed in the *Telegraph für Deutschland,* 1841, Nr. 65.
[33] Cf. Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* p. 348; Proelss, *op. cit.,* p. 374.
[34] Cf. his letter to Cotta. (Proelss, *op. cit.,* p. 267.)
[35] Houben, W., XI, 80.

On his lonely walks, he writes in the *Rückblicke,* in describing his life in Heidelberg, he sought solace from his grief, because he did not get any letters from Berlin. At the bottom of it all was Rosalie's mother who had vowed not to give her daughter to any man not willing to reside in Berlin. But, he adds, he had definitely given up his plans for a teaching career.[36]

A reconciliation was, however, effected. Rosalie at last even acquiesced in his determination to become a professional writer. Her interest in his studies was increasing and their relationship growing more intimate.[37] Then, on February 12, 1834, Schleiermacher suddenly died and Gutzkow wrote his "Nekrolog" for the *Allgemeine Zeitung,*[38] which caused a sensation in Berlin. This direct blow at the orthodox admirers of Schleiermacher was too much for Rosalie. His disrespectful attitude toward, and severe criticism of, orthodoxy cut her to the quick, and as a good Christian and obedient daughter she now felt constrained to sever all relations with this "atheist," even though her own heart might break.[39] An attempt to bring about another reconciliation made by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer on behalf of Gutzkow was fruitless.[40]

This defection on the part of Rosalie was a great blow for Gutzkow and had the most far-reaching effects on his entire life and work,[41] as we shall endeavor to point out in subsequent chapters. A serious emotional crisis resulted, lasting throughout the summer of 1834, which was augmented by physical

[36] *Ibid.,* XI, 92.
[37] Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* p. 375.
[38] Reprinted in Houben, W., VIII, 97–104.
[39] *Ibid.,* XI, 26.
[40] *Ibid.,* XI, 26 f.
[41] Cf. the admission in his *Rückblicke:* "Warum erzähle ich diese Momente der Vergangenheit? Weil dieser Bund Tage, Wochen, Monate der Verzweiflung heraufbeschwor, weil er eine Richtung meines Schaffens bedingte." (Houben, W., XI, 26.)

illness and growing differences with Menzel. Fortunately, his friend Karl Löwenthal, the same who later published his *Wally,* rescued him from this depressing environment by persuading him to go along to Hamburg, where he slowly recovered.

His faith in womanhood had received a rude shock, but in the course of the following year his longing for the companionship of a loving woman and a home of his own was as strong as ever. On January 1, 1835, Gutzkow took up his residence in Frankfurt a.M.[42] In spite of the feverish activity of this year, when he edited the *Literaturblatt zum Phönix,* contributed to various other journals, wrote his *Wally,* completed *Nero,* delivered lectures, and traveled considerably, he found time for the cultivation of intimate relations with several women. In the same letter in which he states to his friend Schlesier that he has completed *Wally,* which later caused him to be denounced as an opponent of marriage and a champion of free love, he also mentions "dass ich hier seit einiger Zeit ein zärtliches Verhältnis entriert habe, das vielleicht in sechs Wochen mit einer Heirat endet."[43] But a few weeks later he adds: "Meine Heirat wird mich nicht stören; denn ich habe das ganze Netz wiederaufgelöst. Die Geschichte ist drollig, aber lang."[44] Further details are lacking. It is very likely, however, that he here refers to the young lady whom he met at the house of Dr. August Clemens in Frankfurt,[45] and who was the direct cause of *Wally, die Zweiflerin.* As related in the *Rückblicke,* this girl became greatly excited when Gutzkow touched upon the religious controversies of the day regarding

[42] Cf. his supplementary letter to the Senate of Frankfurt in support of his petition for the granting of citizenship papers. (Houben, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang,* Leipzig, 1911, p. 523.)
[43] July 10, 1835. *Ibid.,* p. 37.
[44] July 30, 1835. *Ibid.,* p. 11.
[45] Houben, W., XI, 145.

Christ. She exclaimed: "Do not talk about that! It drives one mad merely to think of it!" Gutzkow was particularly affected by these words, because he felt a desire to make advances to the girl. He adds that he actually did so and then retraced his step.[46]

During this summer in Frankfurt a.M. Gutzkow had quarters in the house of the Swedish Consul General Freinsheim, whose charming step-daughter, Amalie Klönne, now became the object of his affections. Hermann Pollet, who made her acquaintance in the year 1846, gives us the following account of her in his *Begegnungen:*

"Gutzkow's wife was a dear little woman of vivacious temper, outwardly appearing rather giddy, but in reality grounded on stern principles. Of great interest is her account of her meeting and subsequent marriage with Gutzkow: As a 'Backfisch' she had just completed her schooling, when she fell in love with the brilliant young author who lived in the same house. An engagement soon resulted. Shortly afterwards Gutzkow was led away to the Mannheim prison because of his 'heresy' in writing *Wally.* Her grief was beyond description, no less her fright, when her fiancé a few months later returned, a haggard, careworn, soured man. At first sight of him she actually ran away. Later, however, there followed a happy married life, which was blessed with three sons."[47]

Levin Schücking also mentions her in his *Lebenserinnerungen.* While passing through Frankfurt in the summer of 1845, he called on Gutzkow who lived on the Hirschgraben, opposite the Goethehaus. There he found him in the midst of his family beside his "charming and amiable wife."[48] After his engagement Gutzkow petitioned the Senate of Frankfurt for his citizenship papers, so that there would be no obstacle to his marriage and residence in this city.[49] The Wally affair interfered with his plans and culminated in over ten weeks of

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[47] Cited by R. Gensel, *Gutzkows Werke,* p. XXIX f.
[48] Levin Schücking, *Lebenserinnerungen,* Breslau, 1886, II, 39 f.
[49] Houben, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang,* 521 ff.

imprisonment. The wedding could, therefore, not take place until July 18, 1836.

For a short time the marriage with Amalie and the cozy seclusion of domestic life was a boon and a refuge from the Wally persecutions and the strenuous tumult of a journalistic career. In his *Rückblicke* he admits that "all dictates of prudence should have led me to postpone the thought of marriage . . . but the noble faith of a trusting young woman's heart, drawn with me into the vortex of my dangerous career," simplified his task of regaining a new hold on life.[50] But in his love there was an element of gratitude for her loyalty at a time when he was practically an outcast, and this was a source of danger for their future relations. He soon realized that he had made a mistake, but was too pedantic and conscientious to rectify it. In speaking of this engagement in his *Rückblicke* he states: "Der Gewissensmensch ist ein ewiger Märtyrer. Selbst ein Stelldichein vermag er nicht zu versäumen, ob er es auch in einem leichtsinnigen Augenblick versprochen hatte und in einem Augenblick, den er längst bereute, längst in sich überwunden hat! Du hast der Harrenden dein Wort gegeben! So schleppt sich der Gewissensmensch manchmal wider Willen—auf die Schlachtbank der Verurteilung!"[51]

These words, written towards the end of his life, undoubtedly exaggerate the situation, but at least they indicate that his action was hasty and ill-considered.

Whatever difficulties and misunderstandings arose between them in the further course of their marriage, the fault was not with his wife. An intimate friend of Gutzkow, Feodor Wehl, relates in his memoirs that he had the greatest respect for her. He describes her as follows: "She was an attractive

[50] Houben, W., XI, 172.
[51] *Idem.*

woman of fine poise, with a calm and serious manner, admirably suited to deal with Gutzkow." [52] He maintained that Gutzkow was happy with her, "in so far as he could find happiness in wedlock. His wife is loving, intelligent, of truly pleasing manner: an excellent wife, a treasure for any honest man." [53]

As indicated by Wehl, the principal obstacle to this matrimonial venture was Gutzkow's personal unfitness for it. Although his high hopes and ambitions had received a temporary setback by the difficulties encountered with his *Wally*, he was by no means ready to settle down to a life of comfort and resignation by his own fireside. When Uriel Acosta exclaims:

> "Ins Allgemeine möcht' ich gerne tauchen
> Und mit dem grossen Strom des Lebens gehn!" [54]

we may feel certain that Gutzkow here expresses his own innermost longing. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should feel himself hampered and checked in his personal freedom by the duties and obligations of married life. There was first of all the grim necessity of providing a livelihood for his family, when it had always been difficult to eke out an existence for himself alone. His expectations of marrying a rich wife had been sadly disappointed, and he was forced to work almost to the point of physical exhaustion.[55] His professional duties as editor of the *Telegraph* necessitated the cultivation of a large circle of acquaintances, and his own irregular habits of life did not make for peace and harmony in his home. Immermann relates that when in 1837 he tried to call on Gutzkow in Frankfurt he could not find him at home

[52] Feodor Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen,* Altona, 1889, I, 263.
[53] *Ibid.,* 264 f.
[54] Act. II, Sc. 7.
[55] Houben, W., XI, 189.

and was told by the maid that one could never tell when he would be home.[56]

At the end of 1837 the *Telegraph* was transferred to Hamburg and Gutzkow likewise took up his residence there. But his wife could not bear the separation from her mother, neither could she accommodate herself to a new environment in Hamburg. She consequently remained in Frankfurt, except for occasional visits, while Gutzkow was quite satisfied with his semi-bachelorhood. But the rift between him and his wife was widening. She was not the inspiring companion he had hoped to find.[57] His own feelings are expressed in a letter to Devrient, giving advice regarding the latter's domestic relations, although he had not the strength to follow it himself: "My advice, dear friend, is: Break with her! There is nothing more embarrassing and painful than a half-hearted relationship, with its constant conflict between good-natured weakness and emotional aversion, once it has set in. An occasional touching scene will not stem the tide of disagreeable gnawing regrets which invariably follow."[58]

Under these circumstances it was not strange that another woman came to occupy the first place in his heart. This was Therese von Bacheracht,[59] the wife of the Russian Consul

[56] Houben, "Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung," p. 613.

[57] Cf. Gutzkow's confession in the "Briefe an eine Freundin," quoted on page 20. According to Houben, Gutzkow even saw to it that his wife did not get an opportunity to read his *Wally*. (*Gutzkow-Funde*, 354.)

[58] Sept. 25, 1839. Houben, *Emil Devrient*, Frankfurt a.M., 1903, p. 175 f.

[59] The account of Gutzkow's relations with Therese is based primarily on Houben, "Eine Freundin Karl Gutzkows," *Hamburger Nachrichten*, July 14–15, 1901; "Therese," *Sonntags-Beilage zur National-Zeitung*, July 3, 1904; "Karl Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung," pp. 609–616; *Gutzkow-Funde*, cf. index; Feodor Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen*, cf. index; Karl Emil Franzos, "Gutzkows Therese," *Deutsche Dichtung*, 1893–1894, Vol. XV, pp. 222–228, 245–251.

General and daughter of the Russian Ambassador von Struve. In his *Rückblicke* Gutzkow has given us an account of his first meeting with her which reads almost like the beginning of a novel.[60] On a dreary, foggy day in October, two days after the fiasco of his *Schule der Reichen* (Hamburg, October 25, 1841), when he surrendered himself to pessimism and despair, a servant in elegant livery brought him a note from a noble lady in high society, expressing her sympathy and inviting him to call. Gutzkow knew her by name and had often seen her riding in the company of diplomats and other high personages. On such occasions she had always seemed to him like an "ewiger Mai." He also knew of her as the author of *Briefe aus dem Süden,* published under the pseudonym of "Therese." In his *Telegraph* he had warmly praised the book.[61]

After some hesitation he decided to accept this unusual invitation. It was an act of great courage on the part of Therese to invite the author of *Die Schule der Reichen,* a satire on the purse-proud and snobbish arrogance of a certain class of wealthy Hamburg merchants, to her house, where many of these same people who had hissed and interrupted the play were regular guests.

Therese von Struve, to give her maiden name, had received a French education in St. Petersburg, and although born in

[60] Houben, W., XI, 294 ff.

[61] *Telegraph für Deutschland,* July, 1841, No. 121. Cf. the following extract: "Was sich Persönliches, oder wie der Engländer es nennen würde, *scandal* in dem Buche trifft, ist eine zarte, weibliche Seele, eine gebildete Kennerin der Literatur und Kunst, eine Mutter, die den Tod ihres einzigen Kindes beweint, eine Reisende, die in den klassischen Wundern Italiens und den märchenhaften Schönheiten des Orients ihre Schmerzen zu vergessen sucht, eine zärtliche Tochter. . . . Nicht das, was gegeben wird, ist so interessant, als die Art, wie es die Verfasserin gibt, und um es mit einem Worte zu sagen, das Interessanteste ist die Verfasserin selbst. . . . Mehr als eine schöne Seele, sie ist eine weibliche Seele."

Stuttgart spoke in her youth French more fluently than German. At the age of twenty-one she married the Secretary of the Russian Embassy and Consul General von Bacheracht. In spite of comfortable circumstances and an active social life, she was not happy in her marriage. The loss of her only child induced her to seek peace of mind in literary work.[62] George Sand's novels were of decisive influence. Besides *Briefe aus dem Süden* (1841), she wrote *Ein Tagebuch* (1842), *Falkenberg* (1843), *Am Teetisch* (1844), *Lydia* (1844), *Weltglück* (1845), *Heinrich Burkhart* (1846), *Alma* (1848), and many other stories and descriptions of travel. Most of them have a social purpose, contrasting the idleness of the aristocratic classes with the dignity and nobility of work. It is to her also that we owe the publication in 1846 of Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Briefe an eine Freundin.* For many years she had given financial assistance to the recipient of these letters, Charlotte Diede, and after the latter's death these letters came into her possession as a token of gratitude.[63]

There is perhaps no other woman of this period in Germany whose personal charm evoked such unanimous praise and admiration on the part of her contemporaries. Heine, when he first met her, exclaimed in surprise: "Gott, was sind Sie schön für eine Schriftstellerin."[64] Levin Schücking, who was her escort in Paris in 1846,[65] and Fanny Lewald, her intimate friend,[66] confirm the opinion of Feodor Wehl:

"She was of average height, slender, but with pleasing curves. There was nothing angular or awkward about her. The aristocratic oval of

[62] Regarding Therese's literary work cf. Adolf Bartels, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* Leipzig, 1909, p. 540; Rudolf von Gottschall, *Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Breslau, 1902, IV, 444 ff.

[63] Houben, W., XI, 365 ff. Cf. also Wehl, *op. cit.,* II, 118.

[64] Houben, "Therese."

[65] *Op. cit.,* II, 45, 117.

[66] Cf. Gensel, W., I, p. XLI.

her face, with its soft rosy glow, bright and radiant eyes, finely chiseled mouth, and lovely forehead, was surrounded by a great profusion of auburn hair. Her body, throat, hands and feet had a plastic quality. Add to this the charm of a sympathetic voice and an eloquence that was truly captivating. She fascinated everyone. With a cheerful disposition, she was always sensitive to all that was good and beautiful, and of a generous, kind nature. Her excellent education, supplemented by the social life in the select circle of her father's house, made her a victorious figure wherever she went. She was the embodiment of charm." [67]

In a critical period of his life and one filled with struggles and difficulties, Gutzkow found a second home in her house. The friendship with her, Gutzkow says, "was the impetus to a thorough re-orientation of my life." [68] Here he made the acquaintance of high society, of diplomats, senators, statesmen and scholars. When he visited Paris in the summer of 1842, Therese's name gave him entrance to the highest circles of diplomacy and aristocracy.[69]

Their friendship soon ripened into love. "Dass sich der Dank, den ich für eine so zarte Aufmerksamkeit und Vertiefung in eines andern Leben und Stimmung auszusprechen und zu betätigen hatte, nicht mit dem kalten Ton des Verstandes aussprechen konnte, dass sich dieser vielmehr von Tag zu Tag mehr in der Region des Herzens bewegte, wird jeder begreifen, dessen Gefühlsweise nicht ganz durch unsre sozialen Vorurteile unterjocht ist." [70] Apart from his description of their first meeting, however, we search in vain for a more detailed account of his relationship with her, and even in

[67] Feodor Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen*, I, 262 f. Feodor Wehl became acquainted with Gutzkow in the early forties. They remained life-long friends and carried on a fairly active correspondence. Wehl was on equally good terms with Therese. His memoirs, therefore, constitute an extremely valuable source for Gutzkow's biography, particularly for the Therese episode.

[68] Houben, W., XI, 295.

[69] *Ibid.*, 296.

[70] *Idem.*

his letters there are only occasional references to her.[71] His intention of recounting this period of his life was frustrated by his sudden death.[72] He intimates, however, that all he relates subsequent to his meeting with her was merely "der Notensatz der obern Stimme. Die untere, der Grundton, fehlt."[73] His works, particularly *Die Selbsttaufe, Ein weisses Blatt, Ottfried,* and *Die Ritter vom Geist,* clearly reflect this experience and enable us to complete the picture.

Their common interests in literature were an important element in their relations and required frequent meetings and consultations. They also traveled together at various times. In 1842 they went to Paris, in 1843 to Italy, in 1845 to Switzerland, and in 1846 they met in Paris and Berlin. She followed him to Dresden when in November, 1846, he took up his residence there as "Dramaturg" of the Court Theatre. He supervised her literary productions and she was the confidante of all his projects. Feodor Wehl relates that everything new from his pen first went to her, and that she copied most of it, as he wrote rather illegibly. She also wrote reviews of his books for newspapers and advertised him whenever possible. "She longed to communicate to the world the admiration which she felt for him. She considered him Germany's foremost author and lost herself entirely in his works. To her every word was significant and valuable. She read with eyes of love. . . . Withal her judgment was keen and based on thoughtful observation. But in her sympathetic criticism she by no means lacked independence. Many a small but valuable touch she added to Gutzkow's work."[74]

[71] Gutzkow's letters to Therese have never been recovered. Therese's letters to Gutzkow, however, are in the possession of his heirs, but have not been published. This information was given to the author by Prof. Dr. Houben.

[72] Wehl, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

[73] Houben, W., XI, 296.

[74] Wehl, *op. cit.*, I, 265.

Among Gutzkow's papers Houben found a sketch for a drama, *Die Paumgärten oder die Patrizier von Augsburg,* on one of Therese's letter heads and in her own hand.[75] This sketch was later utilized by Gutzkow for one of his novels. His tragedy *Liesli* owes its inception to an occurrence on an emigrant ship in the harbor of Hamburg, witnessed by Therese and related to Gutzkow.[76] She in turn received similar suggestions from him. Thus the problem treated by him in *Ella Rose* had originally been suggested to her,[77] and is actually the theme of an unpublished novel of hers.[78]

There was a marked difference between Therese and Amalie. "Amalie was the type of the truly German, dependable 'Hausfrau' of the middle class. Therese von Bacheracht was the brilliant woman of the world."[79] He had married Amalie "as a result of hasty consideration under circumstances brought about by mere chance, while the stress of life was belaying me even at the age of twenty-five."[80] During his critical years in Hamburg she would not share her life with him, but preferred to remain in Frankfurt. She did not enter into his work with heart and soul. There arose misunderstandings "because in time I made greater demands on matrimonial happiness, considering wedlock as a terrible fetter for free intellectual development."[81]

In Therese he found the embodiment of his ideal, as he has expressed it in his book on Börne, in speaking of the latter's relations with Frau Wohl: "Es ist ein Trost, Herzen zu wissen, die den Pulsschlag unserer eigenen Stimmung mit-

[75] Houben, *Studien über die Dramen Karl Gutzkows,* Jena, 1899, p. 18.
[76] Houben, "Therese."
[77] Cf. Introduction to *Ella Rose.*
[78] Houben, "Therese."
[79] Wehl, *op. cit.,* I, 264.
[80] "Briefe an eine Freundin," *Auf der Höhe,* II Jahrg., Vol. VI, No. 18, cited by Houben, *Studien,* 87.
[81] *Idem.*

empfinden und sich ein Gewissen daraus machen, auf unserer Stirn zu lesen und Wünsche von unsern Lippen zu stehlen. Und die, welche mit der Welt in Hader leben, werden das Bedürfnis, einen felsenfesten Punkt der Anlehnung inmitten der Wogen einer in ihren Gesinnungen zweifelhaften Gesellschaft zu haben, nur um so dringender empfinden. Es muss Herzen geben, welche die geheime Werkstatt unsres Innern kennen, ja auf uns schwören, selbst wenn die Welt uns verlässt." [82] And this is what Therese did for him. In one of her letters she writes: "There shall be no day and no night, no action and no dream, no happening of any kind, and no wish that does not refer to you." [83]

Their relationship was a matter of common knowledge and Amalie was, of course, likewise aware of it. After meeting Therese in Frankfurt she wrote to a friend: "If she were only gone! . . . She has eyes and ears for no one but my husband, with no attempt to conceal it. . . . Of course she is not happy with her husband, has no children, and therefore thinks that all is permissible to her." [84] Needless to say that this state of affairs caused Amalie many bitter hours and untold suffering, but she bore up bravely under her fate.

Gutzkow, on the other hand, was too conscientious to take the matter lightly. It was one of those eternal triangles where a solution is always difficult and never satisfactory. He wavered back and forth between his sense of duty to his wife and family and his desire for complete union with his beloved, and this conflict lasted for years. As late as 1846, after his meeting with Therese in Paris, he wrote to Levin Schücking: "How unhappy I am that I cannot allow the love and friendship of this woman to enter my life and my immediate surroundings, as I should like to do, if it were

[82] *Gesammelte Werke,* Jena, no date (1872–1876), XII, 314.
[83] Houben, "Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung," p. 614.
[84] Houben, "Therese."

not for considerations and duties right and left."[85] At the same time, however, he endeavors to appease his wife, to make his affair with Therese appear as innocent and harmless as possible. During this same stay in Paris he wrote to her as follows:

"I have not yet been able to persuade you that there is something to this woman which I cannot put out of my life, because it is friendship and devotion. But you will be persuaded, because you will realize that I cannot further impoverish myself. . . . The pitch to which I have gradually reduced this relationship is such that it will not interfere with my conscience, my renewed sincere devotion to you, or with my position in the community. For this reason I speak of this matter frankly and honestly and do not, as you might prefer, cover it up. Lonesome and friendless as my life is, I cannot further impoverish it. Therefore, do not cling, as your parents do, to this ignoble and pitifully commonplace conception of this relationship. Do not entertain any evil thoughts when you hear that this Bacheracht woman, who is old and sick anyway, has also come here."[86]

Therese on her part, although not divorced from her husband, could not for many years bear the thought of sharing Gutzkow's love with Amalie, and urged him to bring about a complete separation from his lawful wife.[87] On such occasions Gutzkow may have been harsh and irritable, and this may explain his conduct as revealed in Therese's letter to Dingelstedt from Baden-Baden, September 16, 1845, where she complains of his "Härte und Grausamkeit, seiner dämonischen Kälte," but reiterates her deep and eternal love and begs Dingelstedt to intercede for her.[88]

But in the course of time they had both resigned themselves to their fate and given up the idea of ever being fully united in wedlock. Gutzkow, moreover, had become more reconciled to his own marriage. His sons were growing up

[85] Houben, "Eine Freundin Karl Gutzkows."
[86] Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde*, p. 367 f.
[87] Wehl, *op. cit.*, I, 271.
[88] Rudolf Göhler, "Dingelstedt und Gutzkow," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1914, Vol. CLIX, 377 f.

and his feeling of responsibility towards them had become more pronounced. Besides he was growing older and less impetuous, the misunderstandings with Amalie had been patched up and his relations with her had become more cordial.

When, in November, 1846, Gutzkow took up his duties at the Court Theatre in Dresden, Therese, who after leaving Paris had gone first to Hamburg and then to Berlin,[89] also went to Dresden to spend the winter there. On the last day of the year she wrote to Levin Schücking, discussing Gutzkow's recent appointment. At first she had bewailed his loss of freedom, but she soon realized that his activity in a new environment was a blessing to him: "Dann habe ich mich überzeugt, dass seine Frankfurter Entwurzelung unendlich wohltätig auf ihn einwirken und ihn der prickelnden Gewohnheiten jenes Alltagslebens überheben wird." [90]

Amalie at first remained in Frankfurt. But if Therese speculated that Gutzkow's residence in Dresden and consequent separation from his wife would eventually lead to a consummation of her hopes, she was destined to be sorely mistaken. Towards the end of March, 1847, Gutzkow was on his way to Weimar, where he had arranged to meet Amalie, who was coming from Frankfurt to establish her home in Dresden.[91]

In the fall of 1847 a serious misunderstanding arose between Gutzkow and Therese. The latter spent the summer in the Tyrol. Gutzkow had agreed to join her there, just as he had met her at various other places in previous years, but he did not keep his engagement. Greatly disappointed, Therese hurried to Dresden. Amalie refused to receive her. In order to avoid gossip and disagreeable scenes with Amalie, Gutzkow urged Therese to leave Dresden. Thereupon Amalie received

[89] Cf. Schücking, *op cit.*, II, 118.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[91] Cf. Gutzkow's letter to Schücking, March 31, 1847. *Ibid.*, II, 50 ff.

a "conciliatory letter" from Therese, in which the latter begged to be received "um der Schicklichkeit willen." Amalie refused this request, and after a violent scene with Gutzkow, Therese departed for Paris with her friend Fanny Lewald. In a letter to her friend Thekla Weber in Bremen, Therese alludes to this rupture with Gutzkow and voices her despair and resignation:

"Paris ist eine Stadt, in der man am leichtesten vergessen oder wenigstens sich betäuben kann. In der Jugend, liebe Thekla, sucht man den Schmerz, im reifern Alter entflieht man ihm. Ich will nicht wieder aufnehmen, was hinter mir liegt, ich will auch nicht Ihren letzten Brief berühren. Ich freue mich, wenn Sie bessere Eindrücke empfangen, halten Sie diese fest, allein verargen Sie mir nicht, wenn ich Tatsachen nicht verwischen kann, und darüber völlig im Klaren bin, dass ich, ohne mich selbst zu verachten, an keine Ausgleichung mehr denken darf."[92]

Under these circumstances it was a great shock for Gutzkow when his wife died suddenly in Berlin in 1848. Towards the end of 1847 she had a premature confinement, in which her life had been endangered. In March, 1848, however, she accompanied her husband on his vacation to Berlin, where her youngest son became ill. In her weakened condition the exertions of caring for him were too much for her. She contracted a cold which developed into typhoid, and on April 22 she died in the house of Gutzkow's sister.[93]

After returning to Dresden, where he left his sons to the care of Amalie's mother, Gutzkow withdrew completely from the turmoil of the Revolution and sought peace of mind in the little Silesian town of Warmbrunn at the foot of the Riesengebirge. Consumed by grief, he now reproached himself bitterly for the unhappiness he had caused his wife. In his printed "Brief an Freunde" he gave vent to his anguish,[94]

[92] March 18, 1848. K. E. Franzos, *op. cit.*, 246.
[93] Houben, W., XI, 378 ff.
[94] Warmbrunn, May 18, 1848. Cf. Wehl, *Das Junge Deutschland*, Hamburg, 1886, pp. 185 ff.

and to his friend Devrient he added in a postscript to the printed circular: "Four weeks have passed and my tears are still flowing as I write these lines. I am too, too unhappy. . . I cannot get used to it, and I often feel that I must put an end to my life." [95]

It may seem strange that the death of his wife should affect him so deeply, when for more than ten years previously his relations with her had been for the most part highly indifferent and the ties of marriage had seemed an unbearable burden, a yoke that gladly he would have cast off. But for the time being he was undoubtedly sincere, and his tender-heartedness now made him realize fully how unhappy had been her lot by his side, how much he had done to cause her pain and suffering. On the other hand this sudden reaction led him to the opposite extreme and induced regrets and self-accusations that were greatly exaggerated.

In this gloomy frame of mind the hopeful and expectant attitude of Therese, who saw a rival eliminated, only irritated and embittered him. As soon as Therese heard of Amalie's death through her friend Thekla Weber,[96] she hurried from Paris to Berlin. After seeing Gutzkow she felt reassured, and in a letter to Thekla fairly rejoices at the bright prospects for the future:

"Es ist eine wunderbare Lösung, die dieser schnelle Tod mit sich brachte, ein plötzliches Aufhören aller jener Folterqualen, die mir die Seele verrenkt hatten.

Ich stehe noch immer staunend, aber dankbar davor, die ersten heftigen Eindrücke sind überwunden. Gutzkow hat schon jetzt das stärkende Bewusstsein erlangt, dass das, was eintrat, kein Unglück, sondern eine Wohltat war; er wird dieses Bewusstsein mit jedem Tage mehr haben. Seine Äusserungen, die wehmütige Fassung, die ihn nicht

[95] Houben, *Devrient*, p. 340. Cf. also Gutzkow's letter to his uncle Meidinger, Dresden, Aug. 27, 1848. J. Dresch, *Gutzkow et la Jeune Allemagne*, Paris, 1904, pp. 439 ff.

[96] Cf. K. E. Franzos, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

verliess, die Überzeugung, jetzt wieder sich der vollen, unter mannigfachem Schutt vergrabenen Wahrheit zuwenden zu können, erzeugen in ihm ein liebenswürdiges Gemisch von Andacht und zögernder Begeisterung, die mich sehr glücklich machen." [97]

To Feodor Wehl she likewise confided her great hope: "You will understand that as a result of Amalie's death I feel a certain relief. I have suffered a great deal in the conflict between convention and inner conviction. I often thought that it was too much, more than I could bear, and now suddenly, I feel calm, with no fear and trepidation for the future." [98]

At the end of May Therese hastened to join Gutzkow in Warmbrunn. It is difficult to reconcile her account of these days in Warmbrunn with Gutzkow's own statements regarding his condition of mind after Amalie's death, and particularly with his later reaction toward Therese. On June 6, 1848, she wrote to her friend Thekla Weber: "A week ago today I finally arrived here in Warmbrunn where Gutzkow welcomed me with so much joy that I felt recompensed for all my former grief. Our dear friend is completely cheered up, he is well and active and buoyed up by a sense of inner freedom. We live entirely to ourselves, work in the morning, dine together in my rooms, and go for a walk in the evening." [99] Gensel, citing this letter, finds it difficult to understand Gutzkow's subsequent behavior, and still more difficult to justify it.[100] But the motives for his final break with her are in general clearly evident both from his letters and his works. What remains obscure and unintelligible is his conduct towards her during these weeks in Warmbrunn. As he has not enlightened us on this point, we can merely speculate as to the probable explanation. It would seem that Gutzkow's decision

[97] May 2, 1848. *Idem.*
[98] Berlin, May 5, 1848. Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen,* II, 119.
[99] K. E. Franzos, *op. cit.,* p. 248.
[100] Gensel, W., I, p. XLIV.

to give up Therese, as an atonement and sacrifice to the memory of his wife, was only beginning to take shape in his mind and had not at this stage become fully clear to him. He may not have had the strength and courage to face a problem which would add to his mental anguish, deprive him of a devoted companion and increase his loneliness. This seems to be corroborated by a passage in his letter to Devrient:

"Grade, weil mein Herz in einem so unglücklichen Kampf zwischen zwei weiblichen Naturen stand, die mich liebten und Ansprüche auf mich machten, bin ich so unglücklich, dass die arme Amalie, der ich entschlossen war, mich ganz zu erhalten, aus diesem Widerspruch der Gefühle durch den *Tod* scheiden musste! Es liegt darin etwas furchtbar Tragisches, das mich vernichtet. Ich fühle mich verlassen und *bedarf* doch der Liebe und diese Liebe hab' ich bei der Therese in einem unermesslichen Grade. Kann ich sie annehmen? Darf ich? Ich bin willenlos und weiss nicht, wo ich mich hinwenden soll." [101]

Moreover, it does not seem likely that Therese broached the question of marriage at this time, assuming their union to be a matter of course, and now merely endeavoring to comfort and console him. It is not always possible, however, to give a sane and sound account of the subtle workings of a mind that is not sane and sound itself, but morbid and unstrung by bereavement and self-reproaches.

In October or November, 1848, Therese went to Dresden with the hope and expectation that Gutzkow would now marry her, but Gutzkow refused to bind himself. On November 23, 1848, he wrote to Wehl: "Über Therese könnt' ich Ihnen viel sagen, wenn wir einmal allein sind. Würden Sie mir geraten haben, sie zu heiraten? Ich glaube: nein!" [102] Therese in a letter to Thekla Weber, dated January 29, 1849, also refers to the rupture with Gutzkow and adds that she is unable to work because she is thereby too much reminded of him.[103] Nevertheless, in the spring of 1849, this time rein-

[101] Houben, *Devrient*, 340 f.
[102] Wehl, *Das Junge Deutschland*, p. 194.
[103] K. E. Franzos, *op. cit.*

forced by the presence of Fanny Lewald, she made one more determined effort to secure a definite and binding promise, particularly because she was considering a proposal from her cousin Heinrich von Lützow. Wehl tells us the result: "Gutzkow . . . zog sich erst bestürzt und ängstlich, endlich aber, gedrängt sich zu erklären, verstimmt und missmutig ganz vor ihr zurück." [104]

Therese herself has given more details of this last meeting. On June 14, 1849, she wrote to Thekla Weber a long letter, giving expression to her intense suffering, but also formulating some harsh judgments of Gutzkow:

"Ich habe seit zehn Monaten so unaussprechlich gelitten, mein äusserer und innerer Zustand hatte der Dringlichkeiten so viele, dass ich oft gedacht habe, es sei zu viel. Sie wissen genau, was ich wollte. Ich wollte einen Menschen durch Liebe verklären, ich wollte das, was nicht gut an der hohen Begabung war, was dem Charakter und der höheren Ehre schadete, wegwischen mit meinem Herzblute, ich wollte die harten und kalten Keller mit Wärme durchdringen und durch Beispiel und Hingebung den Glauben an das Bessere wachrufen, den untergegangenen oder nie dagewesenen Glauben!

"Acht Jahre meines Lebens hatte ich an die Aufgabe gesetzt, acht volle und schmerzensreiche Jahre, in welchen mir das Zuviel noch zu wenig schien. Im achten Jahre starb Gutzkows Frau. Ich glaubte in ihr ein mächtiges Hindernis überwunden, ich hoffte auf eine stille aber segensreiche Zukunft, aber schon in Warmbrunn und später durch Sie musste ich erkennen, dass ich mich getäuscht hatte. Ich konnte nicht hervorzaubern, was nicht vorhanden war, konnte dem nicht sittlichen Wert geben, der durch Geburt und Selbsterziehung das Leben nur zu oft in Zerrbilder zerfallen sah."

Therese then mentions her cousin Heinrich von Lützow, who had proposed to her, and who urged her to liberate herself from the shameful fetters that bound her to Gutzkow. Finally she describes the painful incidents of her last meeting with him:

"Es war an einem Sonntag, als ich Gutzkow zuletzt sah; ich war ihm, das versichere ich Sie, mit grosser Liebe und Schonung entgegenge-

[104] Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen*, I, 267.

kommen, ich hatte ihm freimütig Heinrichs Ansicht ausgesprochen; ich hatte gehofft, er würde das begangene Unrecht einsehen und gerührt mir eine bessere Zukunft verheissen. Statt dessen riss er das geliebte Bild, das auf meinem Schreibtisch vor ihm stand, herunter, zerschmetterte den Rahmen, zerknutschte die wundervolle Zeichnung, tobte und wütete. —Wie ich es überlebte, weiss ich nicht. Nur weiss ich, dass Gutzkow zornentbrannt fortraste und nicht wiederkam!" [105]

With reference to this double loss of wife and friend, Gutzkow wrote in his diary: "Eine Liebe, die wir begraben, macht uns weich und zu Priestern. Eine Liebe, mit der wir brechen, macht uns stark und zu Tyrannen." [106]

Even though we may not justify Gutzkow's conduct, we must at least try to understand his motives and realize the predicament in which he found himself. Therese was now forty-five years old and seven years his senior. Gutzkow's youthful ardor had waned. As a divorced woman, moreover, she was without means, and Gutzkow's pen was not sufficient to provide for her as she had been accustomed to be provided for. There was also a certain bourgeois pride in his disinclination to wed a woman of the nobility. And his children, who were greatly in need of a mother's care and guiding hand, could not be disregarded, and Gutzkow could well doubt whether Therese would have given them the unselfish care and devotion they required.[107] Then there was the dread of publicity which he abhorred, and above all, the disquieting

[105] K. E. Franzos, *op. cit.*, p. 250 f.

[106] Peter Müller, *Beiträge zur Würdigung von Karl Gutzkow als Lustspieldichter,* Marburg, 1910, p. 8.

[107] Cf. his letter to his uncle Meidinger: "Auch hab' ich an den Kindern das Bleigewicht einer zwar teuren Last, des einzigen sprechenden Vermächtnisses der Verstorbenen, aber auch welche Verpflichtungen jetzt, welche Anweisung auf eine bestimmte feste Grenze meiner Lebensbahn! Wäre ich vermögend genug, sie in Pension zu geben, so würde das meinem Herzen nicht genügen; ich liebe die Kinder innig, und möchte sie brav erziehen, dass ich mir keine Vorwürfe zu machen brauche." Dresden, August 27, 1848. Printed in Dresch, *op. cit.*, 440.

and troubling consciousness that it was on her account that Amalie's happiness had been marred. All of these elements undoubtedly played some part in determining his final resolution, and as Houben suggests,[108] we must therefore take his own confession to Feodor Wehl with a grain of salt:

"Ich fühlte eine Art sittlicher Notwendigkeit, nach dem Tode meiner Frau Theresen nicht mehr zu gehören, als schon seit drei Jahren früher. Sie hatte zuviel, zuviel getan, mir das schmerzliche Gefühl, zwischen zwei mich liebenden Wesen zu stehen, zur Hölle zu machen. Mir lag das Glück der Verbindung mit Theresen nur in der Verschwiegenheit; sie wollte sie öffentlich. Darin lag der tiefe Konflikt zwischen uns beiden schon seit Jahren. Was ich mir, meiner Frau, meinen Kindern schuldig war, wurde immer von ihr als Null geachtet. Das Geheimnis hätte mich fesseln können, die Publizität erkältete mich."[109]

Several months afterwards, August 24, 1849, Therese married Heinrich Baron von Lützow, a Colonel in Batavia, and accompanied him to Java.[110] She died September 16, 1852, while returning to her native country. Hearing of her death Gutzkow wrote to Wehl: "Man schreibe auf ihr Grab: Denen, die sie liebte, war sie die Liebe!"[111]

Gutzkow himself contracted a second marriage with Bertha Meidinger, a cousin of his first wife. He had spent a good part of the summer in Frankfurt with Amalie's family, and when he returned to Dresden the engagement had taken place. They were married on September 19, 1849, less than a month after Therese's wedding.

Gutzkow was now thirty-eight years old and his wife who had grown up as an older playmate of his own children was only twenty-two. He writes to Wehl that he has made a good choice with his young, pretty and talented wife: "Wären in meiner guten verstorbenen Frau nur einige Funken von dem

[108] "Eine Freundin Karl Gutzkows."
[109] Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen*, I, 270 f.
[110] Cf. the formal announcement, *ibid.*, I, 269.
[111] *Ibid.*, 273.

gelegen gewesen, die in meiner jetzigen liegen, der Roman Therese wäre nie gespielt worden." [112] This is corroborated by Amalie's mother, who states that he was acting like a young man of twenty, and she does not recall ever having seen him so "zärtlich" with his first wife.[113] It also shows, however, that his first bitter grief at Amalie's death was somewhat of an illusion, and did not leave permanent scars.

In a letter to his father-in-law he asserted that it was a truly magnetic attraction and real love that determined his choice,[114] but to Dingelstedt he expresses himself more prosaically: "Ich selbst habe dabei das sehnsüchtigste Bedürfnis nach nicht philisterhaftem aber doch stillem Glück. Ein ganz neues Wesen in mein Leben eintreten zu lassen, hätte mir viel Mühe und Sorge gemacht. Eine Art Pietät bestimmte mich daher, eine nahe Verwandte meiner armen hingegangenen Amalie zu wählen, so setz' ich fort, was schon einmal angeknüpft war." [115]

For several years this marriage proved a great blessing for Gutzkow. It rejuvenated him and gave him new courage to face his problems. This state of mental peace and calm was favorable for his literary work and with youthful zest and vigor he launched out upon the enormous task of writing the *Ritter vom Geist*.

But gradually this new relationship also became a burden. The difference in age was too great. Gutzkow became more and more soured and embittered, and to live with him must have been a real ordeal for his young wife. With the addition in his family of three daughters the problem of providing for them became more and more acute. At the same time Gutzkow

[112] Wehl, *Das Junge Deutschland*, p. 203.
[113] Dresch, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 449 f.
[115] Dresden, Oct. 15, 1849. Rudolf Göhler, "Dingelstedt und Gutzkow," p. 382.

felt hampered in his personal freedom, as when he complains to Devrient that he is not master of his own fate, because he is urged by his wife not to give up his position with the " Schillerstiftung " in Weimar.[116]

As a result of his persecution-mania, which in 1865 caused a temporary mental derangement, everything took on a drab and hostile complexion which precluded any further matrimonial bliss and happiness.

[116] Houben, *Devrient*, p. 451.

CHAPTER II

THE REFLECTION OF GUTZKOW'S EXPERIENCES IN HIS WORK[1]

Until 1834 Gutzkow's works are little concerned with women. These early works were not spontaneous productions. They were not written as a result of an overwhelming impulse to give artistic expression to his innermost feelings. The beginnings of his literary work were entirely under the influence of the July Revolution of 1830. During his student years his greatest ambition was to participate in the political and social regeneration of his country. In his *Rückblicke auf mein Leben* he vividly recalls this period:

"Es war die Zeit und das noch ungelichtete Chaos ihrer Forderungen, das mächtige Wehen und Rauschen in den neuen Luftströmungen, die über die Menschheit hinwegzogen, es war das deutlich vernehmbare Läuten einer zur Zeit noch unsichtbaren neuen Kirche des freien Geistes, das die Jünglingsseele fast nur noch allein erfüllte. Wie sich eine sanguinisch-cholerische Natur, die ich indessen nicht war, zum Allgemeinen aufschwingen, wie eine solche am Leben der Zeit, am Leben ihrer Nation die heisseste Sehnsucht, sich als Bürger und Denker zu bewähren, zu befriedigen vermochte, das ersah ich recht . . . in den Juni- und Julitagen des denkwürdigen Jahres 1830."[2]

Just as Menzel's *Deutsche Literatur* had influenced his early attitude toward literature, so Börne now became his

[1] In investigating this phase of Gutzkow's work, the author has made liberal use of the preliminary work done by Houben, Proelss, Gensel, and others. Cf. Houben, "Gutzkows Frauen in Leben und Dichtung;" *Gutzkow-Funde,* 281 ff.; *Studien über die Dramen Karl Gutzkows;* Proelss, *Das Junge Deutschland,* particularly pp. 381 ff.; Gensel, Introduction and Notes to his edition of *Gutzkows Werke* and of *Die Ritter vom Geist.*

[2] Houben, W., XI, 12.

guide amid the political questions of the day.[3] "Ich hatte bei beiden," he relates in *Das Kastanienwäldchen in Berlin* (1869), "die Literatur unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Zeit-und Volksgeistes, vollends die Poesie in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem Bedürfnis der Erneuerung auf dem Gebiet aller Disziplinen, jedenfalls mit den Bedürfnissen des nationalen Lebens, unserer Erziehung und Geselligkeit. Mächtig ergriff mich der Drang zur Anteilnahme am Kampf für die gute Sache der Schönheit, Freiheit und Wahrheit."[4] In his first critical venture, the *Forum der Journal-Literatur,*[5] and in his subsequent articles for the *Morgenblatt* and *Literaturblatt,*[6] he is carrying out his professed desire to influence public opinion and bring about a closer relationship between literature and public life.

Nevertheless, during the early stages of his courtship of Rosalie, we find in the most unexpected place a barely concealed reference to her, a reference which gives us at least a glimpse of his personal life, which seems almost submerged in his political and journalistic activity. At the end of the bombastic introductory essay to his *Forum,* entitled "Emanation des Objects aus dem Subject," having mentioned the book-dealer Gubitz, he closes with a curious association of ideas: "Von meinem Ich bin ich ausgegangen, lasst mich jetzt wieder in seine Tiefen zurückkehren, in die geheimen Falten des Herzens! Hab' ich bis jetzt durch des Weltalls unnermessliche Räume gepoltert, gönnt mir zuletzt nur noch so einen Schäfergedanken beim trüben Dämmerschein der düstern Lampe.—Doch nichts ohne Logik, meine Herren!—ich halte

[3] Proelss, *op. cit.,* p. 252.
[4] Houben, W., XII, 41.
[5] Jan.–Sept., 1831. For an analysis of contents cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* pp. 254 ff.
[6] For a list of these cf. Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* pp. 518 ff.

viel auf Ideenassoziation!—Gubitz—Vereinsbuchhandlung—Kochstrassee—Ja! die Kochstrasse.

"Ich ruf' es laut und ohn' Erröten,
Das süsse, werte Weib,
Es hilft in allen Nöten,
Und tröstet Seel' und Leib!" [7]

Apart from this halting lyric outburst, we find no other allusions to Rosalie in his works of this period. There is only one poem in his collection, entitled *Wechselnde Stimmung in Liedern und Epigrammen,* that bears the date of 1831, and this, as Proelss points out, shows that the *Zeitgeist* had taken hold of him with a fervor that is ordinarily only found in the passion of love. "Das Klirren der Kette, welche die Unfreiheit der ihn umgebenden Zustände bedingte, vermochten die Worte der Liebe nicht zu übertönen. Die Geliebte ward nicht zur Armida ihres Helden. . . ." [8] This *Tendenz* in his own work furnishes a probable explanation for his attitude toward Heine and Börne. In the *Forum* he praised Börne, but expressed a dislike for Heine's too sentimental love lyrics.[9]

Menzel, who in his letter of August 23, 1831, held out high prospects for Gutzkow if he would write political articles,[10] and who upon Gutzkow's arrival in Stuttgart looked askance at his ambition to write lyric poetry and again advised him to devote himself exclusively to literary and political criticism,[11] remained of decisive influence until Gutzkow's meeting with Laube and Schlesier in 1833 and 1834. Menzel also stood sponsor for his first literary offspring, the *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin* (1832), written under the influence of Börne's

[7] *Forum,* 39 f.
[8] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 263.
[9] *Ibid.,* 260.
[10] *Ibid.,* 265.
[11] *Ibid.,* 279.

Briefe aus Paris, and taking the cue for its title from Menzel's review of Börne's book. Here the Suabian critic had stated that the enthusiasts for freedom are called fools, but are nevertheless denied the license of fools.[12] In order to lead the censors astray, the beginning and end of each of Gutzkow's *Briefe* consisted of extravagant and fantastic outbursts of love, but this love merely was that of a patriot for his country.[13] Gutzkow's other chief works while "adjutant" of Menzel, such as *Maha Guru* (1833), *Prinz von Madagaskar* (1834), and *Nero* (1835), contain no personal elements. The first two, describing life and conditions in Tibet and Madagascar respectively, were of a type of *Tendenzliteratur,* very much in vogue at that time, and contained hidden allusions to European conditions, while the last-named was a satire on the union of absolutism and romanticism as embodied in the person of Ludwig I of Bavaria.[14]

A change in Gutzkow's literary work took place after his acquaintance with Laube. Their close relations began with a journey together to Italy and Austria in the summer of 1833. In his *Rückblicke* Gutzkow admits Laube's decisive influence on his work and states that as a result his relations with Menzel were considerably affected.[15] Gutzkow now takes a keener interest in purely literary and esthetic questions, his style begins to lose its reflective, philosophic character, and he gradually comes to accept the view that the poetry of the modern spirit must create modern surroundings and contemporary figures.[16] In the following spring Gutzkow was aroused even more by the outspoken criticism of Gustav Schlesier, the literary and esthetic oracle of Laube's circle in

[12] *Ibid.,* 277, 294.
[13] *Ibid.,* 294.
[14] *Ibid.,* 321 f.
[15] Houben, W., XI, 17.
[16] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 351.

Leipzig. Schlesier pointed out that Voltaire and Diderot, whom Gutzkow had evidently imitated were outworn models and continued: "Herzblut müssen Sie zeigen! Den Charakter der Gegenwart treffen! Sich Ihre Brust aufreissen! Nur 'modern,' spezifisch 'modern' muss der Schriftsteller von heute sein! Die deutsche Literatur darf nur noch den Weg wandeln, den allen Literaturen Europas die Baronin Dudevant, George Sand, vorgezeichnet hat!"[17]

These words stirred Gutzkow deeply and produced a veritable revolution in him. "Sein Spott hatte mich aus meinem Frieden gerissen," he states.[18] But it was not merely this critical dictum that cast him down. The surging billows of discontent and uncertainty in his literary work were whipped into a raging fury by the developing crisis in his emotional life. Even before the final rupture with Rosalie, her letters reveal a fear and uneasiness that Gutzkow's growing fame and his absorption in literary matters might estrange him from her.[19] In his calmer moments Gutzkow himself must have felt with increasing irritation the invisible barrier arising between them in spite of their ardent love. What a contrast between her childlike innocence, her apparent contentment with her narrow-minded bourgeois environment, her pious adoration of Schleiermacher, and Gutzkow's ever-widening outlook upon life, his boundless ambitions and above all, his critical and even hostile attitude toward the orthodox church. Here was a subject such as Schlesier had demanded, a modern problem, a conflict that from his own experience he bitterly felt to be real. He felt the illusions of early life, the faith in love and dogma, crumble within him and a resultant emotion urgently demanded expression. So he proceeds to dis-

[17] Houben, W., XI, 20.
[18] *Ibid.*, 21.
[19] Proelss, *op. cit.*, 376.

card for a moment his political interests and give poetic expression to the futility and hopelessness of his love for Rosalie in the satirical sketch *Kanarienvogels Liebe und Leid.* It was written during the first part of the year 1834, perhaps while he was still in Leipzig with Laube and Schlesier, and published in April of the same year in No. 79–81 of the *Morgenblatt.*

An innocent Thuringian canary, growing adolescent, falls in love with its image in the mirror. After some months of tender and faithful devotion it desires a closer union with the object of its love and ventures an embrace. But now it is cruelly disillusioned, the mirror forms an insurmountable barrier. "Es war die Geschichte von den beiden Königskindern, die Geschichte von Hero und Leander, welche in diesem Falle ein gläserner Hellespont trennte! Sie konnten nicht zusammenkommen!"[20] Its grief is further intensified by doubts as to the reality of the beloved, which it could see but not touch. But when it sees it move again, it reproaches itself with unfaithfulness, but suffers more than ever. "Wider Willen war er zur Resignation verdammt; er war gezwungen, ein Ritter Toggenburg zu werden, und härmte sich sehr."[21] The canary continues to pine away until at last it is killed by its false friend, the cat. As Houben aptly says, it is "eine Ironisierung seines Verhältnisses zu Rosalien, ein schmerzliches Lächeln über diese Aussichtslosigkeit einer Liebe, die ihn noch mit voller Leidenschaft umfing."[22]

But even before this sketch was published the inevitable had happened. The tragedy of circumstances, culminating in his *Nekrolog auf Schleiermacher,* had robbed him of his dearly beloved Rosalie. As Goethe's Werther was a spontaneous discharge of all his pent-up emotions, so Gutzkow

[20] Houben, W., V, 17.
[21] *Idem.*
[22] *Ibid.,* I, 37.

sought peace and liberation in the poetic imaging of his great misfortune. During this summer in Hamburg he wrote the *Sadduzäer von Amsterdam,* the masterpiece of his youthful period. It was completed in September, after his arrival in Stuttgart, and published in No 235–252 of the *Morgenblatt* in the same year.[23] In his *Gutzkow-Funde* Houben has made an exhaustive analysis of all the personal elements entering into the story and its later dramatization as *Uriel Acosta,* showing how completely every phase of it is bound up with Gutzkow's whole life. We shall content ourselves here in pointing out how his experience with Rosalie is faithfully reproduced.

Uriel Acosta, although born a Jew, had been brought up in the Christian faith. But closer contact with the leaders of the church had revealed to him their hypocrisy, and so he had returned to the belief of his forefathers. Fear of the Inquisition had induced him to leave Portugal and take up his residence in Holland. His great learning soon made him a conspicuous member of the new community. He was expected to become a public champion of the Jewish doctrine. But this he refused to do, as new doubts began to trouble him. He remained silent when the synagogue was attacked and declared that he would never be able to defend the selfish morality of his co-religionists. A conflict with the synagogue was imminent, especially as his private papers, to which he had confided the results of his speculations, had been stolen by his adversaries. But Uriel is in no mood for a clash. He is full of resignation and despair because of his conviction that there is no such thing as absolute truth.

In this frame of mind he surrenders himself to his love for Judith Vanderstraaten, the beautiful daughter of the wealthy Manasse. She is his only refuge and hope in the bewildering maze of doubts and troubles. But while the lovers are enjoy-

[23] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 374.

ing a few blissful hours in utter oblivion of the outside world the representatives of the synagogue arrive to proclaim the terrible curse of the elders, culminating in the ban of excommunication. The effect of this curse on the bystanders is a far greater shock to Uriel than the curse itself. All withdraw from him as from one plague-stricken, and Judith likewise offers no resistance, when her father snatches her away from him. "Uriel stretched out his hands to her entreatingly, but she was too weak to defy the curse. Horrified she repelled his advances." [24]

Uriel rushes away in rage and despair, tortured by the thought of Judith's unfaithfulness. He stops for a moment at the house of his sister, whose "pure and unselfish love" is in marked contrast to Judith's behavior, but he does not wish to implicate her and hurries off again.

For several months he wanders about aimlessly, but is unable to forget Judith. Meanwhile Judith herself is driven by her love to set out on a search for Uriel and is overjoyed to find him. She is filled with remorse and asseverates her undying love. But in explaining her conduct she places part of her blame on Uriel: "Warum verschlossest du mir deinen Geist? Warum zogst du mich nicht zu dir hinauf, Uriel! Du lebtest am Tage unter deinen Göttern und wenn der Abend kam, liessest du dich zu mir, einer schwachen, kindischen Sterblichen herab. So zerschnittest du selbst das Band, das in jener fürchterlichen Stunde mich sonst unzertrennlich an dich gefesselt haben würde." [25]

Nevertheless Judith proposes that he should retract his opinions and return to the church, and Uriel, carried away by his love and anxious to have all obstacles removed as quickly as possible, allows himself to be persuaded formally to recant.

[24] Houben, W., V. 37.
[25] *Ibid.*, 44.

No sooner has he taken this step when his former independence and scepticism return. But he now chafes and frets and is divided against himself. This naturally affects his love for Judith. The former spontaneity has vanished, he is absent-minded and sullen. Judith recognizes the cause of his distress. She realizes that in asking him to recant she had demanded too great a sacrifice. Determined to prove her love, she implores him to put her to a test, now fully confident that no power in heaven or earth can shake her love. With renewed joy and bold fearlessness Uriel now resumes his studies and becomes an apostate from the faith for a second time. While avoiding a challenging attitude he is determined to proclaim the truth as he sees it, whenever necessary. He associates again with freethinkers, both Christian and Jew, and is preparing to publish the results of his investigations.

The consciousness of Judith's unfailing love, her sympathetic interest in his studies, have made a new man of him. "Er machte Judith zur Vertrauten seiner Studien, er bemühte sich, sie von ihren Vorurteilen zu befreien." [26] And she makes every effort to follow him, she accepts all the conclusions of his thought, up to the point where he denies the immortality of the soul. This proves to be the stumbling block. "Sie fühlte, dass sie an der Grenze war, über die hinaus sie ihm nicht mehr folgen konnte. . . . Sie krümmte sich wehklagend in dem Zauberkreis seiner Worte, beschwor ihn, seine Formeln zurückzunehmen, und richtete sich, wie atemlos, mit der letzten Frage an ihn, ob denn auch die Schwüre ihrer Liebe verhallen müssten in das Nichts, und sich Liebende im Jenseits nicht wiederfinden würden? Uriel verneinte alles." [27]

Judith is tortured by this conflict between love and faith and can find no solution of this dilemma. At times she even

[26] *Ibid.*, 56.
[27] *Ibid.*, 59 f.

feels hate rising up within her against the author of her despair, and her love for him begins to waver.

Uriel, on becoming aware of her changed attitude, sinks back into his former indecision and despair. "Er war auf alles gefasst gewesen, was die Zukunft ihm hätte bieten können, nur auf Judiths Verlust nicht. Sie hatte ja die Hälfte der Last zu tragen auf sich genommen oder doch versprochen, sich durch nichts, was auch eintreten könnte, von ihm trennen zu lassen. Er hatte alles, was die Zukunft versagen mochte, durch sie ersetzt gehofft, und sich daran gewöhnt, sie sich als die Teilhaberin jedes künftigen Glückes oder Missgeschickes zu denken." [28] And so he is led to believe that by recanting a second time he can fully regain Judith's affections. To this end he surrenders himself once more, but in vain. After several months of imprisonment, followed by cruel humiliations and bodily chastisement, he is freed again only to find Judith celebrating her marriage with his treacherous relative Jochai. In an effort to revenge himself he aims a pistol at the latter, but accidentally shoots Judith. In despair he then kills himself.

Gutzkow's purpose, according to Proelss,[29] was to show what his own fate would have been, if he had heeded the requests of his parents and the entreaties of his betrothed, and, contrary to his own convictions, had compromised with religious orthodoxy and become one of its henchmen. For this reason the historical Uriel who was in his fifties at the time of his persecution by the synagogue, is endowed with Gutzkow's own youthful features, and Judith is fashioned after his own beloved Rosalie. Even in the progress of the story, there is a striking resemblance to Gutzkow's own changing fortunes with Rosalie between the years 1830 and 1834.[30]

[28] *Ibid.*, 61.

[29] *Op. cit.*, 381 f.

[30] The following parallels are based in the main on Proelss, *op. cit.*, 383; Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde*, 347 ff.

Gutzkow's struggle between his desire on Rosalie's account to secure a position with a fixed income and his longing to become a literary free lance is reflected in Uriel's wavering between his championing of liberal views of religion and his humble submission to the authority of the synagogue. The effect of Gutzkow's radical writings on the authorities of state and church, together with his inclination to devote himself entirely to literary work, were just as shocking to Rosalie as Uriel's excommunication by the synagogue was to Judith. Similarly as Judith had recoiled from Uriel in horror when the ban had been pronounced, so Rosalie had felt constrained to break relations with Gutzkow, as pointed out in the preceding chapter. The resistance of Rosalie's mother is transferred in the story to Judith's father. However, the love of Judith leads Uriel to recant and to return into the bosom of the church. Similarly Gutzkow's love for Rosalie was the cause of his repeated attempt to follow a respectable and conservative calling, first by preparing himself for a teaching career and then by taking up the study of law. But just as Judith recognizes that she had demanded too great a sacrifice and strives to share Uriel's intellectual life, so Rosalie had at last become reconciled to Gutzkow's decision to become a professional writer. She had even begun to take a keen interest in his literary work, to assist him with translations and to keep him in touch with important events in Berlin.[31] There were limits, however, beyond which she could not go. Gutzkow's *Nekrolog auf Schleiermacher,* as a result of which he was publicly charged with being an atheist, was the final blow from which she could not recover. In similar manner, Judith is unable to bear the shock of Uriel's bold denial of the immortality of the soul.

Speaking of Rosalie's defection in his *Rückblicke* Gutzkow

[31] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 375.

states: "Mit dieser schlechtbestandenen Probe eines liebenden Herzens gingen mir unermessliche Schätze des Lebens zugrunde. Der Nibelungenhort, den ich im Frauentum gefunden zu haben glaubte, versank mir wie unwiederbringlich. Keinen Mut, keine hochherzige Willenskraft hatte die Reinste ihres Geschlechts zu zeigen vermocht! . . . Mir erstarb—der Glaube an die Bewährung des Frauentums für jene Welt, der mein Leben gehörte. Sie können nicht teilnehmen, rief mein sich krümmender Schmerz, am grossen Kampfe der Zeit!" [32] If we compare the criticism here expressed of Rosalie with the character of Judith in the story, we are struck by the remarkable resemblance and may well say with Proelss [33] that the Jewish heroine's character is a psychological portrait of Rosalie.

In the next chapter we shall have occasion to point out how the emotional crisis produced by Rosalie's defection also played a significant part in the genesis of *Wally, die Zweiflerin* and the radical utterances contained therein. We have been led to postpone the discussion of this novel, because as explained in our introduction, neither in the characters nor in the problems of *Wally* has our author given a direct portrayal of his experiences with Rosalie. An investigation, however, at this point, of the indirect influences bearing on *Wally,* would lead us too far afield.

Neither need we concern ourselves here with any further discussion of *Seraphine* beyond the mere statement that it was likewise inspired by an unhappy love-affair. The chief contents, in so far as they shed any light on Gutzkow's engagement to Leopoldine Spohn, were related in the last chapter.[34]

In spite of the ban imposed on his writings in 1835, Gutz-

[32] Houben, W., XI, 26 f.
[33] *Op. cit.*, 382.
[34] Chap. I, pp. 5 ff.

kow was extremely productive in the period immediately following his imprisonment, but as the works of this period are largely critical essays, dealing with literary, philosophical and historical problems, we need not pause on them.[35] We may also pass over the satirical novel on pedagogical methods, *Blasedow und seine Söhne,* and the plays *Saul* and *Richard Savage* which ushered in his dramatic career. None of these was directly inspired by Gutzkow's relations with women. But of his next play, *Werner oder Herz und Welt,*[36] he states in his *Rückblicke:* "Hier hatte ich den Stoff aus mir selbst entlehnt, aus meinem eigenen Leben,"[37] and in the preface to the play he informs us that he wished to dramatize "eine wiedererwachte erste Liebe."[38]

It would not be difficult to identify this re-born love with Rosalie even without Gutzkow's specific corroboration. The loss of Rosalie was too keenly felt to be quickly forgotten, and that there were many bitter hours of remorse is shown by the following lines in his diary:

> "Als wir uns beide einst getrennt,
> Ich heller Zorn, Du nicht im Frieden,
> Da liesst Du mir, Du riefst sie selber nicht—
> Die quälendste der Eumeniden."[39]

His young wife Amalie was not able to dispel the haunting recollection of Rosalie. There was not a sufficient community of interest between them to make their love all embracing and perfect within itself. Gutzkow, moreover, soon felt irri-

[35] *Zur Philosophie der Geschichte,* 1836; *Über Goethe im Wendepunkte zweier Jahrhunderte,* 1836; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuesten Literatur,* 1836; *Die Zeitgenossen,* 1837; *Götter, Helden, Don-Quixote,* 1838.

[36] Written in December, 1839, and produced February 22, 1840. Cf. Houben, *Studien,* 5.

[37] Houben, W., XI, 37.

[38] *Ibid.,* II, 135.

[39] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 377.

tated by his lack of freedom. In one of his poems, entitled "Gezähmt," which was written in April, 1837, less than a year after his marriage, he gives expression to this feeling of being caged in:

"So hab' ich einen kurzen Augenblick
Mich aus dem Wirrwarr wieder selbst zurück!
Der Frühling will hervor; ich kann nicht weilen,
Muss seine Blüten einzuholen eilen.

Und wie ein Vogel, dem von seiner Haft
Ein blindes Ungefähr Erlösung schafft,
Und der nicht weiss, darf er dem Dinge trauen
Und auf die Freiheit seiner Flügel bauen—

So blick' ich in die freie Welt hinaus,
Liess Frau und Kind daheim im kleinen Haus,
Und sinne finster nach, wie jenen Bergen,
Ich möcht' entfliehn, die meiner Freiheit Schergen.

Vom Frankenlande weht ein Lüftchen her,
Des Rheines Welle eilt behend ins Meer,—
Die Hand rasch an die Brust, ein wildes Streiten
Tobt drinnen von den Geistern alter Zeiten!

Doch wie die Welle so vorüber rauscht,
Wie oben Wolke sich mit Wolke tauscht,
So fühl' ich wohl, dass ich im Banne liege,
Und nicht mehr weit von meinem Neste fliege.

Es ist ein Zauber, der mich wie Magnet,
Je mehr ich geh', je mehr im Kreise dreht,
So dass ich wohl—nach einer Urlaubswoche
An meines Käfigs Fenster wieder poche." [40]

This frame of mind only served to bring out in stronger relief the image of Rosalie and caused him to look back wistfully to the blissful hours spent with her. We can, therefore, understand his intense emotion when, towards the end of 1837 on a visit to Berlin, he beheld again all the familiar scenes

[40] Houben, W., X, 272.

of his former joys and sorrows, when he saw Rosalie and conversed with her father without noting any display of ill-feeling. He deeply laments "das Verfehlthaben eines Zuges meines Herzens."[41] But his poetic fancy takes hold of the problem, and it is this conflict which he has portrayed in Werner. Let us see how it has taken form and shape.

Heinrich Werner, a capable and gifted young man, has broken faith with his fiancée, Marie Winter. He has deserted her in favor of the daughter of President von Jordan. Spurred by his ambitions and with the prospects of a brilliant career, he marries Julie von Jordan and even exchanges his own name for that of his father-in-law. "Ich wollte mich dem Geist des Jahrhunderts in die Arme werfen und riss mich aus denen einer idyllischen Liebe los," he says, in explaining his faithlessness.[42] Although happily married and devoted to his wife and children, he is subject to melancholy broodings, and when he hears that Marie is now impoverished and in dire straits, his conscience is aroused, and all his efforts to forget her are fruitless. We feel that Gutzkow is giving vent to his own feelings when Heinrich says:

"Zu früh—zu früh hat der Geier des Ehrgeizes an meinem Herzen genagt und mich für die Opfer blind gemacht, die ich meinen glühenden Idealen in die grausamen Molochsarme legte! Nun höhnen mich die Streiflichter des Reichtums, der mich umgibt; die Leiter der Auszeichnungen, die ich erklomm, wankt unter meinen Füssen, und ich erschrecke vor den Erinnerungen, die aus einer wild bewegten, aber unendlich schönen Zeit in mein einsames Innere herüberklingen. Vergessen—o!—einst konnt' ich es so gut und jetzt—möcht' ich den Lethestrom austrinken—ich kann es nicht! Jeder Baum, den ich auf dem Schauplatz meiner Jugend hier wieder begrüsse, flüstert mir mit ängstlicher Vertraulichkeit vergangene Leiden und vergangene Seligkeiten zu."[43]

The "spectres of the golden, beautiful past" that he is unable to banish become a living reality when Marie Winter

[41] *Ibid.*, XI, 37 f.
[42] *Ibid.*, II, 157.
[43] *Ibid.*, 148 f.

unwittingly accepts a position in his household as the governess of his children. Marie, of course, is anxious to leave as soon as she recognizes him, but he will not let her go, saying: "Erleichterung kann ich nur in dem Gedanken finden, dass Julie sich an dich gewöhnt, deine Freundin wird und wir einen einigen trauten Bund der Seelen schliessen."[44] He hopes that his wife will approve of this platonic relationship and that in thus making amends, he will ease his conscience. But Julie, although ardently devoted to him, follows the promptings of her natural instincts, refuses to be reconciled to this unusual situation and takes refuge in the house of her father.

The key to the solution of this conflict between Heinrich's love for his wife and his duty to Marie is furnished by Marie herself. By marrying Heinrich's friend Fels, she releases Heinrich from every obligation and thereby sets his mind at rest. Heinrich himself does penance by renouncing the high position that he owes to his father-in-law. He resumes his former name and plans to stand entirely on his own merits. Julie, his wife, now voluntarily returns to him.

We do not find here in every phase of the action the same parallels in Gutzkow's own life as we did in the *Sadduzäer*. To be sure, many of the details are very likely taken from his experience, such as Heinrich's gift to Marie of Schleiermacher's *Monologen*.[45] On the other hand, the situation of a man placed between two women is purely imaginary for this period of Gutzkow's life. Apart from Gutzkow's brief meeting with Rosalie in 1837, he never saw her again. In

[44] *Ibid.*, 160.

[45] Cf. Gensel's footnote, W., XII, 135. In connection with the five years of Heinrich's marriage, Gensel states that Gutzkow was likewise married five years at the time of writing *Werner* in 1840. This is inaccurate. Gutzkow was married July 18, 1836. *Werner* was written in December, 1839, and produced in February, 1840. That would make approximately three and one half years since his marriage.

real life she never occupied the position of Marie Winter in the play, nor did she ever marry.[46] Furthermore, in the play Marie is the innocent victim of Heinrich's unfaithfulness, whereas in reality it was Rosalie who broke the engagement. But in the course of time Gutzkow perhaps felt that he was not entirely blameless. This seems to be indicated by one of the aphorisms in the collection entitled *Vom Baum der Erkenntnis,*[47] which was probably written with reference to Rosalie: "Jüngling, hast du ein Mädchenherz gefunden, das du liebst, so lass es nicht unter die Räder deiner Entwicklung kommen!"[48] His purpose in *Werner* was to give expression to his ideal attachment to Rosalie, and in order to do this the conflict had to be dramatically intensified.

He did not feel, however, that this devotion to the memory of a former love was in any way an act of infidelity towards his wife. In the play, Heinrich at first expects Julie to become reconciled even to Marie's presence in the household. And in a poem entitled "Ein gutes Weib spricht," written about 1841, he indicates the attitude that a wife should take under such circumstances:

"Ich habe deinen treuen Sinn,
Doch nicht dein ganzes Herz.
Du blickst zu jenen Bergen hin
Noch oft wie heimatwärts.

Du denkst, wenn sich in Liebe dir
Mein ganzes Sein ergibt,
An eine, die du lang vor mir
In Schmerzen hast geliebt!

O bange nicht! Du siehst mich froh.
Mein Leid darum zerrann.
Der ist mir lieber nur, der so
Die Liebe lieben kann."[49]

[46] Houben, W., XI, 26.

[47] These aphorisms were collected from the columns of the *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd* and published in book-form in 1868.

[48] Gensel, W., XII, 82.

[49] Houben, W., X, 253.

In a letter to Devrient[50] Gutzkow called *Werner* "ein ergreifendes Seelenleben, ein bis ans Tragische grenzender Gemütskonflikt," indicating how deeply the subject had taken hold of his imagination. But the play also called forth much criticism. After the performance in Dresden on September 28, 1840, a critic condemned such rôles as Werner, because of their "krankhafte Sentimentalität" and objected to the "Gefühlsschwindsucht an Männern."[51] This charge of vacillation and irresoluteness was later lodged against many of Gutzkow's heroes. Sixteen years later Gutzkow's answer to his critics again reveals that in such characters, and specifically in Werner, he has portrayed himself:

"Erlebt nur erst etwas, ihr Abstraktionsmenschen, lasst euch das Gewirr der menschlichen Ansprüche, wo jeder für sein Ich eine Berechtigung zu haben glaubt, um die Nase streifen, die bisherige Weisheit derselben wird euch nicht weit über das Sofa hinausführen, auf welchem nur die zur Rezension eingesandten Bücher um euch herliegen! Erlebt Situationen wie die in einem andern Drama des Herausgebers: *Werner* geschilderten, und ihr werdet Anstand nehmen zu urteilen: 'Werner handelt halb wie ein Lump, halb wie ein Narr!'"[52]

The play scored a great success on the stage,[53] and this fact undoubtedly encouraged Gutzkow to attempt the dramatizing of similar emotional conflicts. For in the spring of 1840,[54] shortly after the performance of *Werner,* Gutzkow is planning another play with a man irresolute between two women, as indicated by the sketch in his note-book, entitled *Die Schwestern, Schauspiel in 5 Akten.*[55] This was not due, however, to any new experience, but is merely an attempt to

[50] Dec. 28, 1839. Houben, *Devrient,* 182.

[51] Cited by Houben, *Devrient,* 66.

[52] *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd,* 1856, p. 798. Cited by Gensel, W., I, 10.

[53] Sixty-two performances were given in the Burgtheater of Vienna between 1840 and 1869. Cf. Houben, W., XI, 38.

[54] Houben, *Studien,* 79.

[55] For complete text cf. *ibid.,* 60 f.

dramatize the problem treated in his novel *Seraphine,* just as he later utilized the *Sadduzäer* and the *Selbsttaufe* for dramatic treatment. But whereas in the two latter cases the earlier stories underwent radical changes, which, as we shall presently endeavor to show, were motivated by new developments in his personal relations with women, the fundamental problem in *Die Schwestern* remains the same as in *Seraphine.* A young man loves the sister of his fiancée and the latter then resigns in favor of the former.[56] This, as we have seen,[57] was an account of Gutzkow's love affair with Leopoldine Spohn; but the experience was now ten years old, and as the poetic impulse was not strong and vivid enough, it did not imperiously demand expression. *Die Schwestern* remained a mere sketch for the time being.

Two years later, however, in the summer and fall of 1842, interest in this problem had gained a new hold upon Gutzkow. His note-books contain several sketches with the titles *Entsagung* and *Die Verlobten,*[58] in which the two sisters reappear, but in which there is a complete shifting of the fundamental problem. The conflict between the two sisters has here been reduced to a mere episode of quite secondary importance, and a third person, an entirely different woman, is introduced as the hero's real love. This modification was retained in the final version entitled *Ein weisses Blatt,* which had its première in Frankfurt on November 14, 1842.

Gustav Holm, a naturalist of great promise, had been commissioned by his government to make extended foreign tours for purposes of scientific research. Before his departure he becomes engaged to Beate, who faithfully awaits his return. Homeward bound at the end of five years, having completed

[56] *Ibid.,* 81 f.
[57] Chap. I, pp. 5 ff.
[58] For complete text and analysis cf. Houben, *Studien,* 64 ff., 72 ff.

his investigations, Gustav makes the acquaintance of Eveline Steiner in London. He accompanies her and her mother to Germany, and instead of hurrying to his waiting fiancée he remains with them as their guest for some time. Eveline is not aware of Gustav's engagement, which he had promised to keep secret, and becomes deeply infatuated with him. Gustav, however, has no inkling of the havoc he has wrought, nor does he realize at this time how much he himself has been affected by Eveline's charm. Before his departure Eveline hands him a "white leaf" from her album, requesting a few words of remembrance.—Gustav returns to Beate, but the first person he meets is Tony, her younger sister. Mistaking her for his betrothed he embraces her. Beate having witnessed this scene, and searching for an explanation of his indifference to her, concludes that he loves Tony. But Gustav's coldness is due to entirely different reasons. The five years of separation have wrought profound changes in both of them. The youthful charm and carefree buoyancy of spirit in Beate have given way to a matronly solicitude and complete absorption in the practical administration of her estate. Gustav, on the other hand, is an impractical idealist, a scholar and artist. There is no real community of interest between them any longer. Moreover, when Gustav wishes to redeem his promise to Eveline to inscribe a few words on her album leaf, he cannot bring himself to write conventional phrases, and as he searches his heart, he is overwhelmed by the growing consciousness of his overpowering love for her. Nevertheless, he is determined to remain faithful to his vow, fully conscious of the despair that is in store for him. Beate, learning the true state of affairs, sacrifices herself and voluntarily renounces her claim to Gustav.

In considering this play, with its clear-cut conflict between love and duty, the question naturally arises: Why was Gutz-

kow impelled to dramatize this conflict at this time? What caused him to take up again a problem that he had sketched in *Die Schwestern* two years previously, and had then neglected to elaborate, and why was the original plan so profoundly changed? Was there a similar conflict in his personal life which demanded poetic expression as had been the case in the *Sadduzäer* and in *Werner?*

There is indeed a striking similarity between the predicament in which Gustav Holm finds himself and the trying situation Gutzkow had to face in his own life. But it is no longer Rosalie who is the disturbing factor. A more formidable rival has entered the field to contend for Gutzkow's love. In meeting Therese von Bacheracht in the fall of 1841 Gutzkow had found the embodiment of his ideal. When towards the end of the play Beate says to Eveline: "Mit Ihnen hat er gelebt, als sein Geist die Reife erlangt hatte, die eine Frucht seiner Erfahrung war. Sie wurden ihm teuer durch die Verwandtschaft Ihrer Geister," [59] Gutzkow undoubtedly had in mind his relations with Therese. But like Gustav Holm he probably did not fully realize his love until he was parted from its object. In the summer of 1842, after his first journey to Paris, Gutzkow returned to Frankfurt, where he took up his residence again, the great fire having made a return to Hamburg impossible.[60] It was now approximately five years that he had been separated from his wife, although she had occasionally visited him in Hamburg. Similarly Gustav Holm returns to Beate after an absence of five years. In recounting this period in his *Rückblicke,* Gutzkow merely remarks: "Ich konnte jetzt nur an ein Wohnen wieder in Frankfurt denken. Die Konturen der Frankfurter Existenz waren seit Jahren

[59] *Dram. Werke,* Jena, 1881, II, *Ein weisses Blatt,* p. 70.
[60] Houben, W., XI, 301.

gezogen. Sie hatten sich nach mancher Seite hin erfreulich erweitert." [61] It does seem strange, as Houben remarks, that there is not a word said about his joy of being reunited with Amalie.[62] As was pointed out above,[63] the lack of common interests had actually tended to estrange them. Gutzkow's return to Amalie in Frankfurt then seems to introduce the same elements of disappointment that Gustav Holm experienced after being reunited with Beate. But whereas in Gutzkow's *Rückblicke* Amalie is not even mentioned, he refers definitely to Therese, in stating that Frau Belli-Gontard made life in Frankfurt more agreeable, being in a way a substitute "für meine jetzt nur durch Briefwechsel mir eine 'andre Welt' repräsentierende Freundin in Hamburg." [64] Gutzkow's own conflict between his duty to Amalie and his love for Therese finds its poetic echo in the trials and tribulations of Gustav Holm. Referring to *Ein weisses Blatt* in a letter to Devrient he confesses his predilection for such subjects: "Es ist ein Stück, das auf der Basis des Werner steht: ein Gemälde gemütlicher Konflikte, in denen sich, ich gestehe es, meine Muse am wohlsten fühlt." [65]

Very illuminating are also a few ideas jotted down in his note-book at this time. They were written with reference to *Ein weisses Blatt,* but they also betray his actual state of mind at this juncture: "Man kann für seine Gefühle nicht auf Jahre gutsagen. Liebet euch, aber gelobet nichts. Die Pflicht bindet—die Liebe befreit. . . . Treue ist Sklaverei, Liebe Freiheit." [66]

[61] *Idem.*

[62] The second part of Houben's *Studien* is devoted to an exhaustive analysis of the genesis and development of *Ein weisses Blatt.* To this the author is indebted for much in this and the following paragraphs.

[63] Chap. I, p. 15.

[64] Houben, W., XI, 301 f.

[65] Sept. 7, 1842. Cf. Houben, *Devrient,* 214.

[66] Houben, *Studien,* 78.

Ein weisses Blatt thus portrays the love conflict which Gutzkow experienced in his relations with Therese. But this relationship also gave prominence to another problem which has left its traces on his work. Therese von Bacheracht was a member of the aristocracy, while Gutzkow sprang from the lower middle classes. It was but natural that this difference of caste should be felt by him and that the social conflict should obtrude itself into his literary work. To be sure, Gutzkow had always been unpleasantly conscious of his inferior social status [67] and his life had been a bitter struggle to rise to a higher social plane. We, therefore, meet with this element in earlier works, as for instance in *Blasedow und seine Söhne,* in *Richard Savage,* and particularly in *Werner.*[68] But here the social conflict is only a minor motive, whereas after his meeting with Therese it not only crops out again and again in his note-books,[69] but he utilizes it in novels and plays where it becomes one of the principal motives.

One of the best illustrations is found in the novelette *Die Selbsttaufe* (1844), where, moreover, it is closely interrelated with the triangular love conflict. This story we shall therefore consider more in detail. In a conversation with Wehl, Gutzkow admitted that its later dramatization as *Ottfried,* which introduces some new elements and will therefore best be treated separately below, was a page from his own life: "Ottfried! Auch ein Stück meiner Leiden. Sie wissen, wer

[67] Cf. his confession in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1839): "Ich werde, da ich einmal knechtisch erzogen bin, ewig hassen, was vornehm ist." (Houben, W., XII, 95.)

[68] Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* 479 f.

[69] Cf. Houben, *Studien,* 8: "Der Stolz und die Ehre der arbeitenden Klassen; Adelig und Edel"; p. 25: "Der alte Struve im Gegensatz zu dem jungen. Dieser nennt sich Freiherr und steht auf einer aristokratischeren Stufe als sein Vater; . . . Interessant ist eine adlige Familie, wo der älteste Sohn ein wunderschönes armes Bürgermädchen liebt." Cf. also Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* 483 ff. for complete text of a dramatic sketch entitled *Standesvorurteile.*

Sidonie und wer der Ottfried ist." [70] This then applies equally to the basic story *Die Selbsttaufe.*

Gottfried Eberlin, son of the Pastor Eberlin, and a candidate in theology, at a time of discouragement and disappointment becomes engaged to Agathe Wallmuth. Agathe is a simple, modest, unaffected girl without any pretensions to social or intellectual distinction. Her father and sister patronizingly give their consent. But the humiliating conditions imposed on their correspondence by Wallmuth, the latter's categorical demand that Gottfried must first spend six months in travel, and his condescending offer to defray the expenses, elicit a prompt and proud refusal. As a result the correspondence is completely broken off.

Some months later Gottfried accidentally meets Agathe. He is now completely changed. He has completed his studies, not as a theologian, but as a Doctor of Philosophy, and he has symbolized this by changing his name to Ottfried. His former melancholy and despondency have given way to joyous optimism and confidence in his abilities. His polished manners, his self-assured bearing, his exceptional intellectual powers, and, not least, his relations of intimate friendship with the socially prominent Baron Schönburgk, completely win over Agathe's father. But Ottfried now experiences an overwhelming attraction for Agathe's sister, Sidonie von Büren, a wealthy, attractive and talented widow, and finds his love reciprocated. A fierce conflict is waged in his heart between his duty to Agathe and his love for Sidonie. He finds himself liberated from this dilemma by entering the diplomatic service and being despatched to Vienna as a special courier on the very day when his engagement to Agathe is to be formally announced. Sidonie soon joins him in Vienna and Agathe dies of a broken heart.

[70] Wehl, *Zeit und Menschen,* I, 278.

Again the two women, between whom the hero's love is divided, are sisters, as in *Seraphine* and the dramatic sketch *Die Schwestern,* but this fact is here of very minor importance. The motive of social inequality forms an essential part of the story, although there is no very searching or profound treatment of this conflict. Gutzkow's purpose was not to write a treatise on social problems: this element was merely reminiscent of his own position with regard to Therese. Gottfried Eberlin, who like Gutzkow has abandoned theology for philosophy and who is, like his creator, risen from the middle classes, has by virtue of inherent ability and intellectual attainments, and in spite of earlier prejudices, won for himself a position of equality with the wealthy, aristocratic Wallmuth family and gained the love of the brilliant Sidonie von Büren. Gutzkow was conscious of the difference in caste between himself and Therese, but he was as readily received by her and her family as Gottfried in the story. In his *Rückblicke* he tells of the many conversations and discussions he had with Therese's father, "the kind old gentleman," to whom he expressed his opinions frankly, on an evident basis of equality.[71]

The chief interest is centered in the love conflict between Agathe and Sidonie. In depicting the wavering of the hero between his duty to the one to whom he has given his pledge and the other to whom he is powerfully attracted by love, Gutzkow has drawn heavily on his own experiences. Ottfried describes his meeting with Agathe as follows:

"Ich kam geistig elend, zerknickt in meinem kühnsten Aufschwunge (nach Schönlinde). . . . Ich war krank an mir selbst. Der Birke im Frühling gleich, die leicht geritzt schon ihren Saft verspritzt, ergriff und rührte mich das Geringste. Kranken ist es so, die nach langem Leiden in die Genesung treten. Schämen meiner damaligen Stimmung mag ich mich nicht. Aber erschrecken muss ich, wenn ich bedenke, was Reue und Schmerz und das Gefühl eines anknüpfungslosen, ver-

[71] Houben, W., XI, 295 f.

fehlten und von fremder Gnade abhängigen Lebens aus uns machen können. O Gott——! In dieser zerflossenen Dämmerung, in diesem ohnmächtigen Bewusstsein meiner selbst, lernte ich damals Agathen kennen—!" [72]

Sidonie at first anxiously ponders the question: "War Agathe des unglücklichen jungen Mannes Trost und Erquikkung geworden, oder war der Bund der Liebe, den er mit ihr geschlossen, das letzte Symptom seiner gedämpften Geisteskraft, seiner mutlosen Ergebung gewesen?" [73] Finally, in an outburst of jealousy, she triumphantly hurls at her sister the words: "In einer Abspannung seines Gemüts ist er dir begegnet." [74] These passages have been quoted at length because they describe precisely Gutzkow's frame of mind in 1836 when, after being released from prison, he married Amalie.

There are many other points of similarity between Agathe and Amalie. Agathe is described as a modest, unpretentious girl, very kind and unselfish, her life spent in ministering unto the wants of her father and sister, and of Amalie he later said: "Sie meinte es gewiss gut und war ein mannigfach selbstloses Gemüt." [75] Like Beate in *Ein weisses Blatt* and like Amalie, Agathe's interests are limited to the efficient discharge of her household duties, the world of art and letters is to her a sealed book, and there is no congenial intellectual companionship between her and Ottfried. Sidonie on the other hand is her direct antithesis, and the portrait drawn of her coincides remarkably with the various accounts we have of Therese. The following passage may serve as an illustration: "Sidonie, dieses Abbild der edelsten Schönheitsformen, diese Zauberin, der alle huldigten, diese Künstlerin nicht

[72] *Ibid.*, V, 297.
[73] *Idem.*
[74] *Ibid.*, 302.
[75] *Briefe an eine Freundin,* cited by Houben, *Studien,* 87.

bloss mit der Palette oder der Feder, sondern diese Lebenskünstlerin, die alles verklärte, alles verschönte, was sie nur anlächelte, anhauchte!" [76] Literature plays the same important rôle in the relationship between Ottfried and Sidonie as between Gutzkow and Therese. Ottfried reads Sidonie's poems and gives her the benefit of his critical judgment, thereby cementing the bonds of friendship and love: "Er nahm Gelegenheit, seine Ansichten über Kunst und Literatur zu entwickeln, und statt dadurch auseinanderzurücken, kamen sie sich nur näher. Magischere Beziehungen gibt es nicht, als durch die Poesie." [77] And finally Ottfried's reasons for deserting Agathe and admitting to himself his love for Sidonie bear all the earmarks of a personal confession:

"Er gestand sich mit dem bittersten Schmerz, was ihn jetzt von Agathen trennte. Nicht ihre geringeren Reize, nicht der Minderwert ihrer einfachen und prunklosen Liebe; weit eher der Stolz, die Eitelkeit des Mannes, der zwischen dem Glück und der Beschränkung wählen durfte, und dem bei dieser Wahl eine Krone zu verschmähen lächerlich erscheinen musste. . . . Alles was Agathen betraf, zog ihn nieder, alles was Sidonien, zog ihn empor. Er fühlte, dass er sich vor einer gewissen moralischen Stimme seines Innern nicht verteidigen konnte, und ein wilder Trotz sagte ihm dennoch wieder: Mache dich frei von diesen kleinlichen Gefühlen!" [78]

Therese's attitude towards her husband seems to be reflected in the way Sidonie regards her late spouse. Therese was not a widow, to be sure, but her marital bonds were of a very tenuous nature. After an active social life, she lost her only child, whereupon she sought refuge in literature. Of Sidonie's widowhood we read the following account: "Nach der Trauerzeit wurde sie reifer, las viel, dachte nach, dichtete, malte; da schwand auch die Erinnerung an ihren Gatten. Sie fand, dass er denn doch keine Eigenschaft besessen hatte, die

[76] Houben, W., V, 298.
[77] *Ibid.*, 295.
[78] *Ibid.*, 298.

sie dauernd würde glücklich gemacht haben. Sie sagte sich im stillen, dass er im Grunde unbedeutend gewesen, und das genügte ihr, das Gedächtnis an ihn auf immer zu vertreiben." [79]

In Agathe's reaction to her sister's blunt suggestion that she should renounce her love, we also have an indication of Amalie's attitude toward Therese. Agathe does not voluntarily resign, as Seraphine did. She admits her sister's superiority in all matters relating to intellect and acknowledges her own unworthiness of Ottfried, but she adds: "Mit meinem Herzen kann ich so stark sein wie du mit deinem Geiste." [80]

This somewhat elaborate analysis of *Ein weisses Blatt* and *Die Selbsttaufe* clearly reveals Gutzkow's manner of utilizing his own experiences in his literary work. These works in particular reflect Gutzkow's own unhappy struggles at this period of his life. But they are by no means isolated instances. Henceforth both the social conflict and the triangular love conflict appear again and again in drama, novel and story, in endless variations either as major or minor motives. This mere repetition of the same conflict indicates how deeply it was lodged in his own nature, though it is not to be imagined that in each instance there was a fresh poetic stimulus or the same poignant consciousness of his grief. In the course of time these conflicts became a literary stock in trade with which he was thoroughly familiar and which he had found to be effective. In most of these cases there are no important variations of motive and technique, and a mere enumeration of the most striking instances seems therefore to be sufficient.

Thus in the novelette *Die Wellenbraut* (1843), in point of time midway between *Ein weisses Blatt* and *Die Selbsttaufe*, we find both the social motive and the love conflict utilized, with the difference, however, that here it is a woman placed

[79] *Ibid.*, 243.
[80] *Ibid.*, 303.

between two men. Theobald, a former student of theology, and at one time imprisoned on account of liberal opinions, is the representative of the middle classes. He falls in love with Idaline, daughter of the prime minister, and fiancée of Count Waldemar. Idaline reciprocates Theobald's love even after her marriage, but makes an end of this tragic situation by drowning herself in the lake.

Very little significance, on the other hand, attaches to the love rivalries and intrigues in the unpublished play *Die beiden Auswanderer* (1844),[81] where differences in social status are a minor element.

Erwin Treuhold, an upright and industrious farmer, loves Helene, the daughter of "Kreisdirektor" Sternau, but makes no advances to her, as she is his social superior. Besides, her father expects her to marry von Felseck. Erwin emigrates to America, accompanied by his friend Ludwig Rosen. As heir to his uncle's fortune, Erwin is to marry Georgine, but the latter falls in love with Ludwig. The situation is cleared up when Sternau arrives in New York with his daughter. It now appears that Erwin's grandfather, the notary, had forged the papers, and that Ludwig, not Erwin, is the real heir. Georgine follows him to Germany, while Helene, who had declined to marry von Felseck, is united with Erwin.

Equally hackneyed are the complications introduced into the relationship of Prince Max with his fiancée, the Princess Jucunde, by an illicit affair with an opera-singer, as depicted in *Die Königin der Nacht* (1844).

In the somewhat fantastic tale *Eine Phantasieliebe* (1846) the husband of Imagina Unruh is in love with the Countess Feodore, while Otto Sudburg, who has pledged himself to marry the Countess, is greatly attracted towards Imagina.

[81] Cf. Eduard Metis, *Karl Gutzkow als Dramatiker,* Stuttgart, 1915, 67 ff.

In the historical tragedy *Wullenweber* (1847) the social motive is emphasized in the rise of Markus Meyer from a simple blacksmith to Commander-in-chief of the Hanseatic troops. He likewise wavers in his affections between Meta Wullenweber and Siegbritt, the beautiful daughter of the Swedish Ambassador.

In *Philipp und Perez* (1853), which has many points in common with Schiller's *Don Carlos,* the love of Antonio Perez is divided between his wife Juana and the Princess Eboli. However, he finally returns to his wife

> "Mit jener Liebe, die aus jeder Lüge
> Sich reiner und geläuterter erhebt!"[82]

In Gutzkow's other short stories a sharp division of social classes constitutes one of the chief elements in the *Emporblick* (1852), as well as in *Jean Jacques* (1854), while in the *Kurstauben* (1852) a married woman again is made to choose between the affections of her husband and the rival love of a former suitor. Somewhat similar is the problem in the play *Ella Rose* (1855).

In his longer novels likewise the eternal triangle is a favorite and ever-recurring motive. To give but a few examples, in *Die Ritter vom Geist* Prince Egon's heart is divided between two women, Helene d'Azimont and Melanie Schlurck, and the other principal characters, the brothers Dankmar and Siegbert Wildungen, also oscillate in their love, the former between Melanie and Selma, the latter between Melanie and Olga. In the *Zauberer von Rom* Benno von Asselyn furnishes a good illustration of the same conflict. Fritz Ellrodt in the novel bearing his name (1872) is unable to choose between the love of the cultured Jewess, Lea Osmund, who opens his eyes to the dawning era of humanistic culture, but who is

[82] Act IV, Sc. 11.

beneath his social station, and a union with the belle of the aristocratic circle, Sophie Löwenhaupt, who is the choice of his father. He eventually decides in favor of a marriage of convenience and marries Sophie. And finally in *Die neuen Serapionsbrüder* (1877) practically all the leading figures are involved in this conflict. Count Udo von Treuenfels had been obliged by a will of his uncle to marry Ada von Forbeck. Udo's real affection, however, is for Helene Althing, the charming and cultured sister of his best friend Ottomar Althing. His wife Ada likewise is madly infatuated with Ottomar and the latter reciprocates her love. Udo and Ada obtain a divorce, whereupon Ada and Ottomar are happily married. Helene, however, has been wavering between Udo and the stalwart Gustav Holm. She now decides upon the latter.

In compiling this list of illustrations we must not overlook *Ottfried* (1848), a dramatization of the *Selbsttaufe*.[83] As the solution of the problem here differs materially from the earlier version, it is best to consider it separately. The action in the play at first runs very much the same as in the story, except that in the play the social conflict figures more prominently. Gottfried had been a suitor for the hand of Franziska, the sister of his friend Baron Hugo von Schönburgk, but had been rejected because of his inferior social station. After three years of wandering he returns home full of remorse and resignation. In this mood he becomes engaged to Agathe, but his love for her wavers when he makes the acquaintance of her sister Sidonie von Büren. Sidonie tries to cure him of his resignation: "Entsagen! Die grossen Flügeltüren des Lebens hätt' ich Ihnen nur aufzureissen, um Sie wieder in den wilden Kampf der Erscheinungen blicken zu lassen! Was ruft Sie da nicht alles! Künste, Wissenchaften, Menschen

[83] Cf. above, pp. 55 ff.

durcheinander, die Fragen der Zeit!" This is the decisive factor in Ottfried's attraction for Sidonie, the appeal to his ambitions and his intelligence. He exclaims: "Sie sind eine Zauberin! Sie können Geister in Flammen setzen!" His friend Hugo, although passing as engaged to Sidonie, realizes Ottfried's predicament and advises him to break with Agathe: "Ich halte diejenige Form der Liebe für die unglücklichste, wo sich in die Liebe Mitleid mischt. . . . Eine kurze *Reue* ersetzt hier einen langen *Schmerz*." [84] The end of the fourth act leaves us precisely where the novelette had terminated. Ottfried posts off on a diplomatic mission to Vienna, thus evading his formal engagement with Agathe. What chiefly engages our attention, however, is the addition of a fifth act and the unexpected turn given to the action. Sidonie, whose letters to Ottfried remain unanswered, marries Hugo. Nevertheless she continues her frivolous game and brazenly endeavors to arrange a rendezvous with Ottfried. The latter has now become thoroughly disillusioned, and his behavior towards Agathe has caused bitter self-reproaches. He tears himself away from Hugo and Sidonie, returns to his home in Schönlinde and seeks a reconciliation with Agathe. "Ich floh dich vor einem Jahre," he writes to her, "weil ein Wesen meinem Geist wieder Schwingen gab, die ich ihm entfallen glaubte, Schwingen, die mich von einer zu frühen Beschränkung emporhoben. Das muss ich deiner Schwester danken. Aber, seit ich Kraft gewonnen, mir selbst und nur allein wieder der Wahrheit zu vertrauen, hab' ich auch die Gefahr des ungehinderten Flugs durch eine luftige, pflichtenlose Welt erkannt." [85] The reconciliation is then effected.

We may ask, why did Gutzkow feel impelled to alter the outcome of this conflict? Dresch simply states that Gutzkow,

[84] Dram. W., III, *Ottfried*, p. 67.
[85] *Ibid.*, 89 f.

having written a comedy, did not think that he could leave his audience with a tragic impression, and that therefore he cleared away all difficulties;[86] while Gensel suggests that Gutzkow considered the epic conclusion of the story unsuitable in the drama, and that the question of Ottfried's fate could not remain undecided.[87] There are, however, other reasons that seem to give a much more plausible explanation. We have seen how his works were a mirror of his experiences, and in the case of *Ottfried* he definitely admitted that he had in mind his relations with Therese and his wife Amalie.[88] According to a letter to Devrient,[89] the first four acts were written during the earlier part of March, 1848. In the following month his wife Amalie died. How profoundly Gutzkow was affected by this sudden and unexpected blow, how he was consumed by remorse, and how this led to a complete rupture with Therese, has been related in the preceding chapter. In this frame of mind *Ottfried* was completed in the course of the summer, and the conclusion of the play again reflects his experiences. As Houben aptly puts it, *Ottfried* "war wie eine Bitte um Vergebung in Amaliens frisches Grab hinein."[90] As will be recalled, Antonio Perez is a further illustration of the hero returning to his wife after his heart had found love elsewhere for a time.

But the most striking and clearest reflection of Gutzkow's changed attitude toward Therese after Amalie's death is found in Prince Egon's relations with Helene d'Azimont in *Die Ritter vom Geist*. Helene, like Therese, of aristocratic birth and German descent, has been brought up and educated in Russia. The description of her also tallies in a general way with the

[86] *Op. cit.*, 380.
[87] Gensel, W., XII, 189.
[88] Cf. above, p. 55 f.
[89] March 28, 1848; Houben, *Devrient*, 338.
[90] Houben, W., I, 89.

account we have of Therese.[91] Helene married Count d'Azimont, a French attaché,[92] but was unhappy in this marriage of convenience. "Sie versinnlichte nur das Gemüt, die Leidenschaft, die völlige Abwesenheit alles Nachdenkens. Die Liebe schien der Glaube dieser Frau zu sein, Zärtlichkeit das einzige Bekenntnis ihres Herzens."[93] This love is passionately bestowed upon Egon. "Ich liebe zum erstenmal," she writes to her sister, "ich liebe, wie ein Weib lieben soll, ein Weib, das fühlt, ein Weib, das da ahnt, in ihr ruhe das Geheimnis der Schöpfung."[94] Egon is equally devoted to her. He calls her "eine Schöpferin, eine Künstlerin des Lebens."[95] But at the end of two years which have passed "like one divine minute" Egon is startled out of his dreamy existence by the news of the death of Louison, his former mistress. He tears himself away from Helene and weeps bitter tears at Louison's grave. An inner voice insistently urges him: "Louisons Schatten verlangt die Sühne der Trennung von Helenen";[96] and so he remains deaf to all of Helene's earnest and abject entreaties.[97]

In view of what has been said regarding the close analogy between the novel and the Therese episode both in character and situation, it is not unfair to assume a close relation of similarity between Egon's long farewell letter to Helene and Gutzkow's reply to Therese in their parting scene. As Gutzkow has given us only a vague and general account, we may be justified in quoting from it at length:

[91] Cf. Gensel, W., XIV, 11 and XV, 581.
[92] Therese had married a Russian Consul General.
[93] Gensel, W., XIV, 11.
[94] *Ibid.*, 13.
[95] Sidonie was also called "eine Lebenskünstlerin."
[96] Gensel, W., XIV, 175.
[97] Even her appeal to "die Macht der Liebe, die auch die Schwingen des Talents kräftiger heben lehrt, als sie von Natur fliegen würden" is fruitless.

"O es ist wohl eine der herbsten Entbehrungen, Helene, die sich der Mensch auferlegen kann, wenn er sich dem Arm der Liebe entwindet! Ich habe lange gerungen,mich von den grauen und düstern Vorstellungen, die mein Gemüt umschatteten, zu befreien. Ich kann nicht anders; ich bin den finstern Mächten der Überlegung verfallen, und was ich auch beginne, mich wieder aufzuschwingen zu einem grossen, vorurteilslosen, freien Blick über das Leben hin, ich kann es nicht. Ich erfülle mein Schicksal.

"Was mich zu Dir führte, geliebte Helene, das hab' ich Dir oft dankend gestammelt. Es war nicht Deine Schönheit allein, nicht die Güte Deines Herzens, die sorgsame Liebe und Sorgfalt, ja leidenschaftliche Vergötterung dessen, was Du einmal in das Heiligtum Deines Herzens eingeschlossen hattest, es war ebensoviel von meinem eignen innern Drange, grade das, was ich in Dir fand, grade das allein zu besitzen. Ich Ärmster hatte der Liebe so wenig gefunden im Leben! Liebe ist das behagliche Glück der reinsten Menschlichkeit! Liebe ist das stille Ausruhen an einem Platze, wo es allen Sinnen, den innern und äussern, wohlergeht. So glücklich war ich zweimal! . . .

"Du hast dies Leiden gefühlt, Helene, und mir gestern, als ich so grausam, so kalt war, wieder von dem Wort gesprochen, das Du schon einmal fallen liessest, Du wolltest mein Weib werden! Helene, ach! dass ein Wort, worin für ein Weib ihre ganze Kraft, ihre ganze Allmacht liegt, hier wie ein Almosen klang, das nicht einmal Du gabst, sondern Du—nahmst! Mein Weib! Helene, Du mein Weib! Dass ich verneinend so auffuhr, dass ich so wild stürmte, was war es anders, als dass ich Dich für zu hoch halte, um mit dem Bettelpfennig der Ehe die Schuld abzutragen, die Du an meine Liebe zu fordern hast! Soll die Ehe harren und warten, bis ich geneigt sein kann und gedrungen mich fühle, die starre Form zu beleben und zu beweisen, dass die Ehe nicht das abfallende Samenkorn der Blüte, sondern die Blüte in ihrer vollsten Schöne und reichsten Entfaltung sein soll? In dem Augenblick, Helene, wo Du von der Ehe sprachst, da sah ich Dich mit einem Blatt Papier und mit einer Feder in der Hand. Schreibe, dass Du mich lieben willst, oder kraft dieses Blattes mach' ich Dir das Leben zur Hölle! So klang es mir ins Ohr. Musst' ich nicht fliehen?"[98]

Thus we see that Gutzkow's work also reflects the misunderstandings and difficulties which had crept into his relations with Therese and had abruptly terminated them. But we shall not conclude this chapter with the harsh and discordant note which had disrupted and destroyed the previous fullness and harmony of their love. We will retrace our steps to the

[96] Gensel, W., XIV, 522 ff.

time when this love was still in full bloom and bore noble fruit, when Therese's love inspired and sustained Gutzkow in the arduous tasks he had set before him. We have still to discuss Gutzkow's greatest poetic achievement, the tragedy *Uriel Acosta* (1846), in which he has erected a lasting monument to the love and devotion bestowed upon him by Therese.

In the *Sadduzäer von Amsterdam,* the prose version of 1834 on which *Uriel Acosta* is based,[99] the character of Judith was drawn to conform to Rosalie Scheidemantel. As we pointed out in the earlier part of this investigation, Rosalie was too deeply rooted in the narrow-minded prejudices of her orthodox environment to rise to the occasion when the supreme test of her love was at hand. Her inability to summon the strength and the courage to defy her family and cast overboard her cherished beliefs, when her love and the happiness of her lover were at stake, was portrayed in the weakness of Judith who in critical moments twice betrayed her lover Uriel. In the drama, however, Judith has undergone a most remarkable transformation. In purely external respects, to be sure, she is the same Judith, she faces the same problems, she is confronted with the same dilemma of choosing between her love for Uriel and the insistent promptings of loyalty to church and family. But her general attitude and her reactions to the situation are as different from the earlier Judith as day and night. Judith in the *Sadduzäer* was a simple naive girl, untroubled by doubts and having no part in Uriel's intellectual life. She was a charming "doll" in whose company Uriel sought rest and recreation when he descended from the lofty heights of his speculations. It was only after his excommunication that she made an attempt to comprehend the ideas which Uriel professed, and even this effort was doomed

[99] The relation between the two works is fully discussed by Houben in his study of *Uriel Acosta.* Cf. *Gutzkow-Funde,* 281 ff.

to failure. In the drama, however, Judith is Uriel's pupil from the very beginning. She participates in his studies, and shares his bold opinions. On this firm foundation of reverence and admiration for her spiritual guide and teacher the love of Judith is founded:

> "Bewundern ist und lieben eins beim Weib,
> Der mehr Bewunderte ist mehr geliebt!"[100]

This love is a real inspiration to Uriel, it prompts him to his noblest efforts. Judith seems to him like a being from some other world, like a saint who has temporarily abandoned her heavenly abode:

> "Sie stieg vom Himmel nieder,
> Die Erde hat nicht teil an ihrem Stoff—
> Sie ist ein Schatz, vergraben unter Euch,
> Ein Seraph, der die Grille hegt, sich menschlich
> Als wäre sie die Unsre, anzustellen!
> Berührt sie nie mit einer Hand, die eben
> Vielleicht in Haufen schnöden Goldes wühlte!
> Jochai, zu ihr beten müsst ihr, nahn ihr,
> Wie man den Heil'gen naht!"[101]

Judith is eager for an opportunity to prove her loyalty. She is tormented by the realization that she has not yet done anything to deserve Uriel's love, she believes that only by a free and voluntary act of heroism can she earn the right to possess Uriel. This opportunity presents itself when Uriel is threatened by the ban of excommunication, and almost joyfully she welcomes it. In the face of her father's remonstrances she invites Uriel, who is already shunned as an outcast, to confront the other guests with him. The supreme test, however, comes with the actual pronouncement of the curse. At the first shock she is momentarily dazed and obeys the summons to stand aside, leaving Uriel to face his adversaries alone. But when Rabbi Santos proclaims:

[100] Act I, Sc. 1.
[101] Act I, Sc. 2.

"Verschmachten wirst du in dem Durst nach Liebe,
Nie gibt sich dir ein liebend Herz des Weibes!"

Judith boldly steps forth and heroically hurls at him the words:

"Das lügst du, Rabbi!
. . . . . .
Verdammt die Götter, die wir beide glauben!
Es sind die wahren, ihnen lernet beten!
Er *wird* geliebt! Glaubt besseren Propheten!" [102]

Judith believes that in thus defending him she has performed the "free deed" which justifies her claim to Uriel's love. She takes it for granted that Uriel now will do his share and recant so that there will be no further obstacles to the consummation of their love. When Uriel shows no inclination to submit to the Synagogue she allows herself to express doubts of his love. This, in addition to his pity for his blind old mother and the pleas of his brothers, undermines Uriel's firm resolution and he surrenders. Judith's weakness had caused him to be untrue to himself. But this weakness is only temporary. She immediately realizes the immensity of her guilt as she ponders the question:

"Ist denn das Weib des Mannes ew'ger Fluch,
Seit Anbeginn der Welt ihn schon verkleinernd?" [103]

She had been disloyal to him, her love had not been a blessing but a curse, and she is resolved to make atonement and liberate him from this curse. She marries Jochai in order to save her father from financial bankruptcy. Thus she lives up to Uriel's ideal whose foremost demand had been to renounce. As soon as the ceremony has been performed she calmly takes the poison cup, not in despair, but as a testimony to her loyal love for Uriel, whom she bids to fare forth into the world on his

[102] Act II, Sc. 7.
[103] Act III, Sc. 7.

great mission, unencumbered by any considerations of human expediency:

> "Zieh' in die Welt mit mutigem Vertrauen!
> Bekenne deine Wahrheit wie ein Held!"[104]

This "arielhafte Lichtgestalt" of Judith was not modeled after Gutzkow's wife Amalie, as Proelss thought,[105] but as Houben has so convincingly demonstrated,[106] this new and changed conception of Judith was a glorification of the love of Therese von Bacheracht.

[104] Act V, Sc. 4.
[105] *Op. cit.*, 791.
[106] *Gutzkow-Funde*, 354 ff.

CHAPTER III

WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION AND FREE LOVE

Wally, die Zweiflerin is a landmark in Gutzkow's personal life as well as in the history of Young Germany. As a result of this ill-fated book Gutzkow was sentenced to imprisonment and his published and unpublished works together with those of Heine, Laube, Wienbarg and Mundt were suppressed. The book thus attained far greater notoriety than it would have had on its own merits. Even with due regard to Heine's *Salon,* Laube's *Die Poeten* and Mundt's *Madonna,* it is upon *Wally* that the chief responsibility falls for the wholesale and indiscriminate charges of immorality laid at the door of Young Germany in general. The work drew upon itself the wrath and indignation of the reactionary and orthodox elements, it served as a convenient object upon which they could vent their growing resentment against the alarming doctrines imported from beyond the Rhine. It was held up as a blatant example of the gross immorality of the younger radical authors who were said to advocate emancipation of the flesh and free love.

A few sentences will suffice to indicate the tone and temper of the onslaught as led by Wolfgang Menzel:

"Ich finde da einen Roman des Herrn Gutzkow, der in der Tat von Frechheit und Immoralität schwarz aufgeschwollen ist, und muss nun meines Amtes warten. . . . Nur im tiefsten Kote der Entsittlichung, nur im Bordell werden solche Gesinnungen geboren. . . . Herr Gutzkow hat es über sich genommen, diese französische Affenschande, die im Arme von Metzen Gott lästert, aufs neue nach Deutschland überzupflanzen."[1]

[1] *Literaturblatt,* No. 93–94, Sept. 11 and 14, 1835. The entire article is reprinted in Eugen Wolff, Kritische Ausgabe von *Wally, die Zweiflerin,* Jena, 1905, pp. 193–220.

Some weeks later in a review of Wienbarg's *Ästhetische Feldzüge* Menzel continued his denunciation in the same strain:

"Unter der Maske des französischen Republikanismus schwärzt diese neue Frankfurter Läster—und Lasterschule eine furchtbare Unzucht ein. Das Fleisch, die freie Sinnlichkeit, die Aufhebung der Ehe, sind ihre Schlagwörter, und sie schreiben nicht nur selbst obszöne Bücher, sondern wärmen auch die alten wieder auf. Man schliesst sich zum Teil an Saint-Simon an, man verkündet einen noch ausschweifenderen Republikanismus ohne Tugend, eine Hetärenrepublik im grössten Stile." [2]

Needless to say that many other journals and newspapers took up the hue and cry and rushed to Menzel's aid in denouncing the immorality of Gutzkow and his cohorts. Hengstenberg, for instance, who contributed a series of articles to the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* on the "Rehabilitation des Fleisches" [3] praised Menzel "dass er mit grossem Mut und grosser Macht inzwischen die Schandglocke geläutet habe über den Dr. Gutzkow und seine Genossen." [4] The extent of the publicity given to *Wally* was so great that even Frederick William III read the work and personally wrote to the Grand Duke of Baden urging the latter to proceed against it.[5] The political and legal persecution of the author made *Wally* an outright sensation and more than a score of separate pamphlets appeared on the subject.[6]

But long after the passions and prejudices of the moment had subsided, these sweeping statements regarding the immorality of the Young German authors were uncritically re-

[2] *Literaturblatt*, 1835, No. 109. Cited by Hans Bloesch, *Das junge Deutschland in seinen Beziehungen zu Frankreich*, Bern, 1903, p. 77.

[3] Aug. 8, Oct. 17, Nov. 25, 1835. Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.*, 631.

[4] *Ibid.*, 629.

[5] *Idem.*

[6] E. Wolff, *op. cit.*, XLVIII. The author was able to verify this statement made by Wolff. He had the privilege of examining Prof. Dr. Houben's rare collection of Gutzkowana, which contains most, if not all, of these "Streitschriften."

peated. To give a few examples, Karl Biedermann, in his History covering the period 1815–1840, says of the Young Germans: "Ganz besonders war es das Thema der freien Liebe oder der 'Emanzipation der Sinne,' was sie in immer neuen Wendungen variierten." [7]

The vicious attack upon Gutzkow made by Emil Kuh in his biography of Hebbel is well known. Aiming to show the difference between Hebbel and Young Germany on the question of the relation of the sexes, he characterizes the theories of this new School as follows:

"Ihre Grundsätze waren die Emanzipation der Frauen, deren Teilnahme an der allgemeinen Arbeit, die Übergabe ihres Schicksals in ihre eigenen Hände und die Rehabilitation des Fleisches. Von den Deutschen aufgenommen, eigentlich von den deutschen Belletristen, hatte der sexuelle Bestandteil dieser Botschaft widerwärtige Zusätze aus der Küche Friedrich Schlegels und aus Schleiermachers Apotheke empfangen. Die Forderungen jener Apostel, gallisch, überschwenglich, halb revolutionär, halb göttesdienstlich gefärbt und von der Naivetät des ersten Anstosses getragen, wurden mit der frechen, aber temperamentlosen Sinnlichkeit der Luzinde und den sublimen, ein höheres Moralprinzip einschmuggelnden Auslegungen des Verfassers der Vertrauten Briefe vermengt zu einer Spottgeburt aus Dreck und Feuer." [8]

Similarly extravagant statements were made by Heinrich von Treitschke. He charges Gutzkow with preaching in the *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers Luzindenbriefen,* "kurzab die Unzucht und die Gottlosigkeit." In comparing *Wally, die Zweiflerin* with Heinse's novels he remarks: "Bei Gutzkow nur ein Wust von Reflexionen, unreife, altkluge Redereien über die Rechte des Fleisches, die Unnatur der Ehe. . . . Und diese ekelhafte Schmutzerei ohne jeden Hauch kräftiger Leidenschaft, ohne ein einziges natürliches Wort." [9]

[7] Cited by Proelss, *op. cit.,* 17.

[8] Emil Kuh, *Biographie Friedrich Hebbels,* Wien und Leipzig, 2. Auflage, 1907, I, 229 f.

[9] Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert,* Leipzig, 1889, IV, 432.

Literary historians are equally uncritical in their generalizations. Heinrich Kurz, for instance, states that Young Germany showed a decided preference for the theme of woman's self-determination in regard to love, that these authors simply protested against marriage and demanded free love in the relation of the sexes.[10] Otto von Leixner likewise makes a very broad statement in regard to Young Germany: "Besonders hervorzuheben ist die in verschiedener Form wiederkehrende Forderung der Freilassung des Weibes, die sich jedoch fast immer als bare Sinnlichkeit entpuppt—viel nackter als bei Heinse, ähnlich wie in Schlegels Lucinde."[11] The more recent histories of literature, even though guarding against such extravagant statements, nevertheless refer to this theme of emancipation and free love in vague and general terms as characteristic of Young Germany, and as they usually designate Gutzkow quite properly as the leader of this group, they leave the reader to conclude that Gutzkow was one of the chief offenders. Under these circumstances a more detailed examination of Gutzkow's real attitude toward these matters and his proper share in promulgating such ideas would not seem inappropriate.[12] Before proceeding, however, it would

[10] Heinrich Kurz, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* Leipzig, 1881, IV, 7 b.

[11] Otto Leixner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* Leipzig, 1889, p. 866.

[12] The author was unable to consult Ernst Bergmann, *Die ethischen Probleme in den Jugendschriften der Jungdeutschen* (1833–1835), Leipzig, 1906, until after the completion of this chapter. Bergmann's conclusions regarding Gutzkow's share in the propagation of these theories do not differ materially from those reached by the author. Bergmann's account, however, with its artificial distinction between emancipation of the senses, woman's emancipation, and free love, which are discussed in separate chapters, is somewhat misleading, particularly in the case of Gutzkow. Furthermore, he stresses but lightly the effect of Gutzkow's personal experiences, and is satisfied with the more obvious explanation that his interest in these problems was due to the influence of

be well to pause for a moment to consider the character and nature of the St. Simonistic doctrines which were said to have influenced Gutzkow and his fellow-authors.[13]

The founder of this new doctrine was Claude Henri, Count of Saint Simon (1760–1825), who at the age of nineteen had gone to America to fight in the War of Independence. He participated in five campaigns under Washington, and also made the acquaintance of Franklin.[14] Returning to France he remained a neutral observer during the French Revolution, and later devoted himself to philosophic and scientific studies. In 1802 in the *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève* he began to expound the principles of his new doctrine, which he developed and elaborated in many subsequent books. He was mainly concerned with a political, social and economic reorganization of mankind. Society was to be organized in such a manner as to ameliorate as quickly as possible the lot of the poorest and most numerous class. Work, according to him, was not a curse, but a blessing. He repudiated the idea of original sin and denied any antagonism between the spirit and the flesh. Those extremely radical ideas in the field of morals

the Romanticists and George Sand. The present study aims to trace in detail Gutzkow's reactions toward these problems, giving a more coherent and comprehensive account, and attempting to show that his personal fates were of decisive import for this phase of his work.

[13] For an excellent brief account of this movement cf. Dresch, *op. cit.*, 49 ff., who also supplies a bibliography, and Henri Lichtenberger, *Henri Heine Penseur*, Chapter III: "Heine et le Saint-Simonisme," pp. 100 ff. Bloesch, *op. cit.*, has unfortunately omitted the St. Simonistic influences. A brief account is also given by Proelss, *op. cit.*, 175 ff. Moritz Veit, Berlin publisher and friend of Mundt, published a book entitled: *Saint Simon und der Saint-Simonismus*, Leipzig, 1834. Veit makes a sharp distinction between the theories of Saint Simon and those of his disciples. The first part of his book is a vindication of Saint Simon, whom he wishes to introduce to the German public as a serious philosopher. The second part is devoted to a critical discussion of the theories developed by St. Simon's disciples.

[14] Veit, *op. cit.*, 8.

and ethics which were later associated with his name and doctrine were not originally a part of his system, but were the work of his disciples. The latter published after St. Simon's death an exposition of his doctrines, based largely on his last work, the *Nouveau Christianisme,* and among other things also proclaimed the equality of the sexes and the rehabilitation of matter. But this conception was still a very noble and moral one and did not differ essentially from other pantheistic ideas.[15] In 1831, however, the two Supreme Fathers,[16] Bazard and Enfantin, disagreed regarding the new morality, and as a result the sect was divided into two factions. Bazard was interested principally in political and economic questions, while Enfantin emphasized the moral and religious elements in the new doctrine. The latter, starting out from his thesis that the flesh was as divine as the spirit, developed those radical ideas regarding the relation of the sexes, the abolition of marriage and the family, and the theories of free love and emancipation of woman which called forth so much indignation and opposition. In 1832 the French Government stepped in and sentenced Enfantin and several others to imprisonment because of their immoral doctrines. Several months later the sentence was commuted and Enfantin emigrated to Egypt.

These new theories created a considerable stir in Germany like everything else that came from France, the much idealized land of liberty and freedom. Books, pamphlets and articles on this subject began to multiply.[17] But these discussions probably reached only a very limited class of readers. Moreover, while some of these writers were favorably impressed by the St. Simonistic doctrines, the majority either

[15] Cf. Dresch, *op. cit.,* 53.

[16] Regarding the elaborate hierarchical organization of the St. Simonists cf. Veit, *op. cit.,* 128 f.

[17] Cf. the lists in Veit, *op. cit.,* 116 f; Dresch, *op. cit.,* 56 f.

took a very reserved attitude or denounced them outright.[18] It was only when these new ideas began to invade the field of literature that they aroused more general interest and discussion.

The greatest influence in the propagation of St. Simonistic ideas in Germany emanated from the writings of Heine who shortly after his arrival in Paris enthusiastically accepted the ideas of the new school, attended the meetings in the Salle Taitbout and dedicated his book *De l'Allemagne* to Enfantin. Particularly in the two books *Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland* and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* did he proclaim the new doctrine of the rehabilitation of the flesh.[19] As Proelss states, Heine's works had an effect incomparably greater than anything else that had been written for or against St. Simonism, particularly on the younger generation of authors. However, we must not overlook the fact that this effect was counterbalanced by the enormous influence exerted by Börne and his severe puritanism in his insistence on the political principles of freedom.[20] What then were Gutzkow's reactions to these moot questions and contending forces, and to what extent did he uphold and champion the St. Simonistic doctrines regarding the emancipation of the flesh and free love?

As pointed out in the preceding chapter, Gutzkow's chief interest during the first years of his literary apprenticeship lay in the political and social questions of the time. His models were Menzel and Börne, to whom he looked up with awe and admiration and whose example he wished to follow. His interest in moral and ethical questions was still dormant,

[18] Dresch, *op. cit.*, 56 f.

[19] Regarding the influence of St. Simonism on Heine, cf. H. Lichtenberger, *op. cit.*, 100 ff., and Proelss, *op. cit.*, 178 ff.

[20] Cf. Proelss, *op.cit.*, 182.

and so we find only political and religious questions treated and discussed in his works down to 1835. There is not a trace of eroticism, nothing that could be interpreted as indicating a predilection for sensual or immoral subjects. There is no deep questioning of the accepted standards of morality and no outspoken interest in changing and improving the status of woman in society.

Gutzkow's first published work, *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin,* written in 1831, is a political pamphlet in disguise, and contains only one incidental reference to love and marriage, which does not, however, reveal any profound thinking or revolutionary tendency. He questions the magic powers of love, for, being the fruit of vanity, love ceases to be love when it changes to fidelity. Marriage is an institution of the State, based on human frailty and future weakness.[21] Gutzkow is already familiar with the St. Simonistic doctrines, but there is no outburst of enthusiasm and only qualified approval. What he considers of value in them is their expression of a need for a closer union between the spiritual and material elements in life, but as he immediately adds, the movement, being a symptom of the "Zeitgeist," has only passing interest. The need for a closer union between spirit and matter is not satisfied by these theories, because there is too much speculation in them. Nevertheless he admits, "sie haben im Schematismus der mannigfachen, unsere Zeit durchkreuzenden Tendenzen eine so mathematisch richtige Stellung, wie keine andere neuere Erscheinung im Gebiete der geistigen Kultur."[22] He also touches upon the emancipation of woman as proclaimed by the St. Simonists, but he does not take it seriously.

[21] *Werke,* 1845, III, 51. The original edition is very rare. The present account is based on the fragmentary reprint in Gutzkow's collected works of 1845.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

There is a humorous and ironic note in his account which is equivalent to a *reductio ad absurdum:*

"Die Frauen wollen keine Engel mehr sein, sie wollen Menschen werden. Ihr Mund soll nicht zum Küssen, zu leisem Liebesgeflüster, sondern zur politischen Beredtsamkeit geformt sein. Da sie ihn nun aber nie öffnen können, ohne den Mann mit süssem Zauber zu bestricken, so steht davon mehr zu erwarten, als selbst die Londoner Konferenz als europäisches Amphiktyonengericht zu leisten vermag. Kommt es zum Kriege, so gehen die französischen Damen den Russen bis an den Rhein entgegen. Liebreiz und Anmut, kriegerischer Adel und männlicher Stolz werden die schönsten Ingredienzien zu Romanen sein, die die deutsche Grenze entlang sich anlegen, entwickeln und mit allgemeiner Entsagung und Entwaffnung schliessen werden. So die Simonisten. So auch Plato, nur weniger zärtlich, mehr preussisch. Die Frauen sollen bei ihm nicht nur ihren Landwehrmännern das Essen auf die Wache bringen, sondern während der Mahlzeit selbst das Gewehr ergreifen und in Reihe und Glied treten." [23]

The author of this can surely not be accused of having been an enthusiastic disciple of the St. Simonistic School, nor can he be charged with extreme and subversive theories regarding the relation of the sexes.

Neither does Gutzkow's next book, *Maha Guru,* written in the summer of 1833, betray any deep preoccupation with St. Simonistic theories regarding love and marriage. In the preface to the edition of his collected works in 1845 he tells us that the fundamental purpose of *Maha Guru* was metaphysical and that the satirical allusions to Europe, rule of priests, theocracies, monasticism, Jesuitism, to social institutions and even to narrow conceptions of love were purely incidental and part of a larger purpose.[24] The work was directed principally against the orthodox theologians, whose great power seemed to Gutzkow a baneful influence and a formidable obstacle to progress. When Hali Jong, the idol manufacturer, is on trial for giving expression to his artistic

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 28.
[24] *Werke,* 1845, V, 7.

sense by enlarging the space between the nose and lips of his idols, thus making them more human, he closes his defense with the words: "Lasset uns Götter schaffen nach der Menschen Ebenbild! Wenn es keine Grenzen mehr zwischen dem Himmel und der Erde gibt, dann wird die Frömmigkeit ihre reinsten Opfer darbringen." [25] This sounds very much like the St. Simonistic doctrine, and in fact it was this union of spirit and matter which he had pointed out in the *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin* as the most valuable element in St. Simonism. But it is clearly evident at the same time that he is not proclaiming any base materialism, much less emancipation of the flesh in the sense of free love.

Furthermore, when Gutzkow describes at some length the practices of polyandry prevailing in Tibet, his purpose seems to be to show the relativity of our standards of conduct and morality, thus scoring another point against the theologians, who claim that these are absolute and based on divine authority. "Sonderbare Sitten der Völker!" he exclaims, "An welchen Quellen nahmt ihr euren Anfang? Die Zeit gibt den Gewohnheiten ihre Heiligkeit; wer gab ihnen aber den ersten Anstoss? Sind wohl die Formen des Staates, die Gebräuche der Religion, die Sitten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens verschieden je nach der Geschichte, dem Klima, dem Zufall; wer würde sich überredet haben, dass auch die Bedürfnisse des Herzens sich so verschiedenartig befriedigen lassen, wenn sie doch dieselben sind? . . . Sitte und Glaube heiligen auch die Neigungen, die eine Frau gegen vier Männer zu gleicher Zeit haben kann." [26]

Somewhat later Gutzkow actually calls Tibet "the country of woman's emancipation" and expresses surprise that the St. Simonists have not yet referred to this state as an illus-

[25] *Maha Guru,* Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1833, I, 196.
[26] *Ibid.,* I, 5 f.

tration of their theories regarding women. He continues: "In Tibet hört die Bevormundung auf, die die Männer fast überall über die Frauen ausüben. Die prüde Sittenrichterei über den Wandel einer Unverehelichten ist hier unbekannt; man gewährt sich unter einander die Freiheiten, die man sich selbst nimmt, und verlangt von dem Weibe erst dann Enthaltsamkeit und Beschränkung, wenn sie in eine Familie als Gattin eingeführt ist,—eine Zeremonie, die übrigens in den einfachsten, faktischen Formalitäten, ohne alle Herbeiziehung priesterlicher Symbolik, besteht."[27] These passages must not be taken too literally as a straightforward statement of Gutzkow's views, for they are tinged with too much irony. Friedrich's assertion[28] that Gutzkow's description of marriage in Tibet is at bottom only a glorification of free love, that the institution of polyandry is figuratively meant to convey the idea of complete sexual freedom for women, and that Gutzkow, therefore, has a very low conception of the problem of emancipation, seems greatly exaggerated and not warranted by the context. Furthermore, Gutzkow's references to such ideas are of a purely incidental nature and occupy a relatively small space compared with the main theme of the work, which Caselmann has summed up as follows: "Es ist der Triumpf der natürlichen, menschlichen Lebensfreude über eine Wahnidee eingebildeter Göttlichkeit, es ist andrerseits der Untergang einer vom Bewusstsein seines hohen Berufes erfüllten Künstlerindividualität durch den Fanatismus einer beschränkten Priesterschaft."[29] Gutzkow himself wrote to Cotta regarding this novel that he had avoided everything that

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 24 f.

[28] Hans Friedrich, *Die religionsphilosophischen, soziologischen und politischen Elemente in den Prosadichtungen des jungen Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 28.

[29] August Caselmann, *Karl Gutzkows Stellung zu den religiös—ethischen Problemen seiner Zeit*, Augsburg, 1900, p. 29.

might give offense in regard to politics and morals.[30] Even Menzel gave an enthusiastic review of it in the *Literaturblatt* [31] which he probably would not have done if he had believed it to contain a glorification of free love.

We may safely state that up to the middle of 1833 when *Maha Guru* was completed the St. Simonistic doctrines had not made a profound impression on Gutzkow, nor did he take a keen interest in problems of morality or in changing the social status of woman. Gutzkow's indifference, however, was not due to ignorance or unfamiliarity with the new teachings. The allusions to St. Simonism in the two books discussed clearly exclude that. Furthermore, in the *Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin* he definitely refers to F. W. Carové, who had published a book on the subject.[32] Several other books and numerous magazine articles had appeared at this time,[33] and so voracious a reader as Gutzkow surely was familiar with them. The general interest in St. Simonism was so great that Moritz Veit in 1832 even presented a dissertation to the University of Jena on this subject.[34] Other Young German authors, principally Laube and Mundt, were thoroughly familiar with these theories and did not hesitate to express their approval. Gutzkow's attitude, however, is fairly accurately revealed by his reaction towards Heine, who, as we stated above, was one of the greatest influences in the propagation of St. Simonistic ideas. Whereas Heine was fairly worshipped by Laube and greatly admired by Rahel, he did not strike a very responsive chord in Gutzkow who remained cool and reserved.[35] In summing up the influence

[30] July 24, 1833; quoted by Proelss, *op. cit.*, 304.

[31] Feb. 24–25, 1834; cf. *ibid.*, 305.

[32] Cf. Dresch, *op. cit.*, 67. The book was entitled: *Der Saint-Simonismus und die neuere französische Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1831.

[33] Cf. Dresch, *op. cit.*, 56 f.

[34] Cf. *ibid.*, 57. Veit's book published in 1834 was cited above, p. 76.

[35] Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.*, 182.

of St. Simonism on the authors of Young Germany, Dresch states that Rahel, Mundt and Laube were greatly interested in this new religion of matter reestablished in its rights and in the theory of feminine emancipation, that Wienbarg was taken with the equality between man and woman, but that Gutzkow only took from St. Simonism what confirmed his own thoughts, that with respect to this new school he remained one of the freest and most far-sighted minds in Germany.[36] Houben likewise calls attention to the fact that up to this time Gutzkow had been a veritable ascetic in regard to eroticism.[37]

But dating from this summer of 1833, when Gutzkow was matriculated in the University of München,[38] various influences were at work to bring about a gradual change in his reactions towards the questions of St. Simonism and the emancipation of the flesh. There was first of all his close relationship with August Lewald,[39] the editor of *Unterhaltungen für das Theaterpublikum,* who was an intimate friend of Heine and had followed him to Paris. Lewald now gave Gutzkow a vivid first-hand account of the doings of the St. Simonists and the editors of the Paris *Globe,* their principal journal.[40] Not that this brought about an abrupt change, for after the completion of *Maha Guru,* Gutzkow was engaged in writing a drama *Jupiter Vindex,* later completed as *Nero,* which, as stated above, was a political satire and did not betray any radical thoughts in the field of morals. But Lewald surely had some influence in preparing the ground and paving the way for other influences that were destined to be more far-reaching.

[36] *Op. cit.,* 60.
[37] *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang,* p. 538.
[38] Houben, W., XI, 94.
[39] *Ibid.,* 100 f.
[40] Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* 322 f.

Chief among these was the cultivation of friendly relations with Laube and Schlesier.

In the columns of his journal, *Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt,* Laube had already publicly proclaimed his theories of free love and his interest in St. Simonism.[41] He had also published various extracts from Heine's radical work *Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur* which Heine had sent to him in April, 1833.[42] His literary model was Heinse, whose two erotic novels he admired and subsequently published in a new edition.[43] Laube later said that St. Simonism and Heinse had been united in him, the one furnishing the content, the other the form.[44] In the spring of this year 1833 he had completed his novel *Die Poeten* which serves as an excellent illustration of that statement. The book is a melange of erotic scenes and adventures and of lengthy discussions regarding free love and woman's emancipation.[45]

During the months of August and September, 1833, Laube and Gutzkow spent six weeks together in traveling through Italy and Austria.[46] While crossing Lake Garda, Gutzkow read Laube's *Die Poeten,* as he informs us in his *Rückblicke,*[47] but he does not state what impression it produced on him. In a letter to Menzel, however, dated September 20, 1833, after remarking that he had read Laube's novel *Das junge Europa,* of which *Die Poeten* was the first part, he says: "Ich habe ihm offen gestanden, dass mir jeder Zug in ihr zuwider ist."[48] This statement of his reaction at this time is of the

[41] Cf. Karl Nolle, *Heinrich Laube als sozialer und politischer Schriftsteller,* Bocholt, 1914, 26 f.
[42] Dresch, *op. cit.,* 113.
[43] *Ibid.,* 114.
[44] *Idem.*
[45] Cf. Nolle, *op. cit.,* 21 ff.
[46] Houben, W., XI, 116 ff.
[47] Houben, W., XI, 17.
[48] Houben, *Gutzkow-Funde,* p. 22.

greatest importance. It is clear and unequivocal and bears out the conclusion we had reached above from a consideration of his works. He is not especially interested in the problems of St. Simonism and free love, and he frowns upon works of literature which embody them. Mere eroticism and licentiousness is quite foreign to him. Nevertheless we may suppose that the intimate contact with his gay and frivolous traveling companion during these six weeks, with plentiful opportunities for discussion of theories and exchange of views, had some influence in bringing about a gradual change in Gutzkow.

A few months later, in January, 1834, Gutzkow went to Leipzig and again spent some time in the company of Laube. Here he also met Schlesier, whose great influence on Gutzkow's work has been pointed out in the preceding chapter. Particularly Schlesier's severe criticism of Gutzkow's past work, his exhortation to be more personal and modern, to follow the example of George Sand, brought about a crisis in Gutzkow's career. In his *Rückblicke* he confesses that Gustav Schlesier's remarks had been the cause of his writing the *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers Briefen über die Lucinde,* and *Wally, die Zweiflerin,*[49] and to Alexander Weill he wrote in 1843: "Dieser Terrorismus, den 1833 Laube und sein Freund Schlesier auf mich ausübten, hat mich damals in meiner ganzen Entwickelung gestört, aufgehalten, ja so verwirrt, dass ich in meine Wallyperiode et caetera hinein stürzte und erst allmählich mich wieder gesammelt habe."[50] It must be noted, however, that neither the *Vorrede* nor *Wally* appeared until 1835, and that in his works of the year 1834 these baneful influences of Laube and Schlesier were in no wise apparent. Gutzkow was too independent and self-reliant to be quickly swayed and influenced by others, and while Laube and

[49] Houben, W., XI, 21.
[50] Weill, *op. cit.*, 31.

Schlesier undoubtedly had a share in opening his mind and stimulating his interest in the moral questions of the day, they were by no means exclusively responsible for his polemical attitude during the following year. For the time being the religious questions still predominated, as shown, for instance, by his *Nekrolog auf Schleiermacher* in February, 1834.[51] Nor do his other works of this year betray any interest in the St. Simonistic doctrines. Neither the innocuous little idyll *Kanarienvogels Liebe und Leid* nor *Der Sadduzäer von Amsterdam,* both of which were discussed in the last chapter, give any indication of Gutzkow's even being aware of these problems. The same holds true of his contributions to the *Morgenblatt* and *Literaturblatt* and the series of articles for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* which were published in book form in the fall of 1835 under the title *Öffentliche Charaktere* and which even Metternich read with interest and attention.[52]

With regard to the influence of Laube and Schlesier, and also of Wienbarg, with whom he associated in Hamburg during the summer of 1834, there is an interesting passage in a letter of the year 1837, in which Gutzkow points out his lack of interest in erotic questions. The letter is addressed to O. L. B. Wolff, who was editing an *Encyclopädie der deutschen Nationalliteratur,* and is an answer to a request for a biographical sketch. The passage in question runs as follows:

"Ich gehe nach Leipzig. . . . Laubes *Junges Europa* missfiel mir. Er las *Maha Guru* nicht einmal. Man vermisste an mir die Leidenschaft und die Plastik, das Studium des Nackten und dergleichen Dinge, die plötzlich das Symbol eines Dreibunds werden: Laube, Wienbarg, Schlesier. Ich schloss mich aus, sie schlossen mich aus. . . . Von Leipzig kehr' ich nach Berlin zurück, das drittemal. Ich stehe einsam; ich verzweifle an meiner Heimat. Im Sommer 1834 bin ich in Hamburg. Löwenthals Freundschaft bewährt sich mir. Ich lerne Wienbarg kennen. Unsre Prinzipien liegen auseinander. Wir sehen uns wenig.

[51] Reprinted in Houben, W., VIII, 97–104.

[52] Houben, W., I, 40.

Im Herbst geh' ich nach Stuttgart, wo ich mit Menzel wegen einer Stelle in der Vorrede zu meinen Novellen breche. Diese Auflösung eines drückenden Joches wird der Wendepunkt meiner Ideen, die sich z.B. in den damals geschriebenen *Öffentlichen Charakteren* weit freier entwickeln, aber auch zu jener Leidenschaftlichkeit steigern, die die Leipziger an mir vermisst hatten. Die Frucht eines total mit der Welt zerfallenen und namentlich seine Erziehung hassenden Unmutes sind die *Vorreden zu Schleiermachers Briefen über die Lucinde* und später *Wally.*" [53]

This does not tell the whole story, however. There were still other influences which had a share in bringing about that state of mind which in 1835 gave rise to the radical utterances found in the *Vorrede* and *Wally.* In *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1839) there is a chapter entitled "Rahel, Bettina, die Stieglitz" in which he states: "Wer einst die organische Entwickelung unserer neuen Literatur zeichnen will, darf den Sieg nicht verschweigen, den drei durch Gedanken, ein Gedicht und eine Tat ausgezeichnete Frauen über die Gemüter gewannen." [54] Gutzkow here has reference first to the publication early in 1834 of *Rahel—ein Buch des Andenkens an ihre Freunde* which was a collection of all those brilliant ideas of hers which were so stimulating to the younger generation of authors, including her enlightened views on love and marriage. The presentation of these caused a considerable sensation.[55] These were the "ideas" to which Gutzkow refers. The "poem" was the poetic relationship between Bettina von Arnim and Goethe as revealed in *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde,* also published in 1834. The "deed" was the suicide of Charlotte Stieglitz (night of Dec. 28–29, 1834), who sacrificed herself in order that her husband might obtain the freedom and inspiration to create a literary masterpiece.[56]

[53] Frankfurt a.M., Feb. 13, 1837; cf. Houben, *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang,* 536.

[54] Houben, W., XII, 71.

[55] Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* 487.

[56] For a detailed discussion of the importance of these three women for the social and literary thought of Germany at this crisis cf. Proelss,

Regarding the influence of the ill-fated Charlotte on his work Gutzkow confesses in 1839: "Wie sehr dies alles auf gärende und dichterische Gemüter einwirkte, wird man begreifen, wenn ich eingestehe, dass ich den Roman *Wally, die Zweiflerin* nicht geschrieben hätte ohne den Tod der Stieglitz." [57] In their various ways these three women seemed to embody the recent ideas regarding woman's emancipation which were creating more and more of a stir on all sides. They were living illustrations of the ideas of George Sand, whose example Schlesier had advised Gutzkow to follow. Other books were about to appear taking up the same theme, notably Mundt's *Madonna* and Kühne's *Quarantäne im Irrenhause*. Keenly sensitive to all the various manifestations of the "Zeitgeist," Gutzkow could not help being powerfully influenced by these new currents of thought which were gaining more and more momentum. But at the beginning of 1835 he had been subjected to these influences for fully a year without having given any evidence of yielding to their control.

The fact that a slow change was going on in Gutzkow at this period is, however, revealed by his attitude towards Börne and Heine. We have seen that in his earlier years Gutzkow was a devoted follower of Börne and his theories of political emancipation and that he had looked askance at Heine. His relations with Laube and Schlesier probably had a share in bringing about a change in this attitude. Just before starting out on his journey to the South with Gutzkow, Laube had received a letter from Heine (July 10, 1833) in which the latter advised him to make of his *Elegante Zeitung* not a political organ, but a journal of social propaganda,[58] and this suggestion

op. cit., 454 ff.; Dresch, *op. cit.*, 145 ff.; Georg Brandes, *Das Junge Deutschland*, Übersetzt von A.v.d. Linden, 9. Auflage, Berlin, 1904, pp. 276 ff.

[57] Houben, W., XII, 76.

[58] Cf. Dresch, *op. cit.*, 113 f.

very likely formed the subject of many discussions between Gutzkow and Laube on their journey and during their subsequent meetings in Leipzig. Furthermore, since the Hambach Festival in 1832 the various German Governments had been aroused to greater activity, the censorship had been made more severe, and direct political propaganda had become practically impossible. As a result the interest in political questions, which had been fanned into a bright flame after the July Revolution of 1830, began to subside, and eager young spirits now directed their attention to social, ethical and moral problems. This accounts for the eclipse of Börne and the greater prominence of Heine during the years 1834 and 1835.[59]

At any rate, two articles in the *Literaturblatt zum Phönix* [60] clearly show Gutzkow's changed attitude towards Heine. The latter has evidently won his admiration, even if he does not go so far as Laube and Wienbarg. He calls attention to the second volume of the *Salon,* with its review of German religious and philosophical history from the standpoint of St. Simonism, and defends Heine against Börne, for Heine is a poet and literature cannot be confined to politics.[61] Whereas Börne believed that the necessary social, religious and moral changes would follow upon freer political conditions, Heine had no patience with political propaganda and wanted first of all a reformation along moral and social lines. It is in accordance with this new partiality for Heine that in an essay on the German novel [62] Gutzkow makes the statement that literature would always have to lead the way in a revolution of morals, and cites the didactic novels of Goethe and Heinse and Schlegel's Lucinde as examples of novels being "die Blendlaterne des Ideenschmuggels." [63]

[59] *Ibid.,* 60 f.
[60] March 11 and June 27, 1835.
[61] Cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* 544 ff.; Dresch, *op. cit.,* 181 ff.
[62] *Literaturblatt zum Phönix,* March 25, 1835; cf. Proelss, *op. cit.,* 550.

In the year 1835, then, Gutzkow was becoming a public champion of these new doctrines and had begun, in an aggressive and uncompromising manner, to inveigh against conventional morality. The two works in which he gives full expression to his new faith are the *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers vertrauten Briefen über die Lucinde* [64] and *Wally, die Zweiflerin.* The former is dated January, 1835, while the latter was published in August of the same year. These are the first and only works in which he advocated substantive and radical changes in the current conceptions of love and marriage, and they are closely interrelated. The *Vorrede* is a bald and bold statement of his views, while *Wally* is an attempt to give literary expression to these ideas in the form of a novel. Gutzkow has himself admitted this close relationship. He repeatedly links the *Vorrede* with *Wally* in referring to this period of his development.[65] This relationship is of considerable importance, for the *Vorrede* does not only contain clear and straightforward statements of his ideas, but it is also very illuminating as regards the underlying motives for this complete change of front. It will, therefore, serve as a valuable commentary for the interpretation of *Wally.*

We have enumerated and commented upon the various influences which tended to bring about a change in Gutzkow's reaction towards the question of woman's emancipation. But these influences must by no means be considered as having been primarily and exclusively responsible for Gutzkow's altered outlook. They merely form the background, lending here and there some color, light and shade, while the actual change in his views was a spontaneous result of his own bitter

[63] Cf. also the conclusion of his *Vorrede:* "Dem Romane sei es empfohlen, diese Grundsätze zur Anschauung zu bringen." (Gensel, W., X, 168.)

[64] Reprinted in Gensel, W., X, 155–169.

[65] Cf. the autobiographical sketch quoted above, p. 87 f.

experiences. The *Vorrede* is not a calm and reasoned argument; it is an emotional outburst and of explosive violence. With reckless abandon he lets loose his pent-up emotions, evidently taking a keen delight in giving as much offence as possible. It is imperative, therefore, that we first seek to determine the driving force behind this invective before we can hope fully to understand and evaluate the opinions which our author expresses.

The *Vorrede* is primarily directed against the orthodox theologians, " die glattgescheitelten berlinischen Zionswächter," who were preparing to publish Schleiermacher's collected works. When it was rumored that they intended to omit the *Vertrauten Briefe über die Lucinde,* Gutzkow persuaded Hoffmann and Campe to publish this early work in a new and separate edition, to which he supplied the foreword. Here he declares: " Mit dem behaglichsten Gefühl werf' ich diese Rakete in die erstickende Luft der protestantischen Theologie und Prüderie und weide mich an der Verlegenheit, wenn in das moralische Gesäusel gewandt unterdrückter Leidenschaften und die loyale Politur gesellschaftlicher Bequemlichkeit und Selbstgenughabens plötzlich eine recht derbe, natürliche und witzige Zweideutigkeit fährt." [66]

This was not Gutzkow's first encounter with the dominant powers of the orthodox church. After the death of Schleiermacher, February 12, 1834, Gutzkow wrote the sensational *Nekrolog* for the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* which caused him to be branded as an atheist and which was the ostensible reason why Rosalie Scheidemantel, a pious soul and ardent admirer of the clerical philosopher, broke off her engagement.[67] The emotional crisis which was induced by this rupture with Rosalie and from which he had attempted to liberate himself by the

[66] Gensel, W., X, 158.
[67] Cf. Chap. I, p. 10.

poetic sublimation of his experience in the *Sadduzäer von Amsterdam* had not yet passed. Inwardly he was still in a state of violent agitation over the sad outcome of his love-affair. This is the real root of the matter. This is the cause of his boundless rage and resentment against the theologians, for he blames them and their narrow-minded teachings more than he does Rosalie.

There is both direct and indirect evidence for this contention that the motive power behind this tirade against the conventional ideas concerning love and morality was furnished by the keen disappointment in his own love-affair. In the very beginning of the *Vorrede* there is a veiled allusion to Rosalie when he refers to "weissgekleidete Mädchen, die jüngeren Schwestern jener Reizenden, welche zu meiner Zeit dem sonntäglichen Christentume zur heiligen Dreifaltigkeit so viel verführerische Überredung gaben,"[68] for their attendance at Schleiermacher's services at the beginning of their courtship had cemented and sealed the bonds of friendship and love.

His disappointment, however, does not merely lead him to melancholy reflections. There is a direct and cruel reckoning with her. In his rage he is so tactless as actually to mention her name and directly to address her with the sarcastic words: "Nicht wahr, Rosalie; erst seitdem du Sporen trägst an deinen seidnen Stiefelchen und es von mir gelernt hast, den Carbonaro in Falten zu schlagen und ich eine neue Art von Inexpressibles für dich erfinden musste und du überall als meinen jüngsten, innigstgeliebten Bruder giltst, weisst du, was ich sprach, als ich sprach: Ich liebe dich? Komm, küsse meine Hand, dass sie begeistert schreibe!"[69] At the end of the *Vorrede,* where

[68] Gensel, W., X, 155.

[69] *Ibid.,* 162. Brandes has completely failed to appreciate the importance of Gutzkow's relations with Rosalie, for in discussing this passage he states: "Das Original jener Rosalie, welche Gutzkow in

he reiterates his resolve to dispense with the sanctions of the church, he again addresses her: "Die Vikare des Himmels aber, welche bei einer misslichen und negativen Gelegenheit recht ausdrückliche und positive Verachtung in dieser Vorrede genossen haben, mögen mir ihre Kirchtüren verschliessen, die ich nicht suche, und Sakramente entziehen, deren Symbole ich im Herzen trage! Auch zur Ehe bedarf ich eurer nicht: nicht wahr? Rosalie?" [70]

Throughout the *Vorrede* there is an undertone of anger and resentment, and a constant reiteration of the theme that love has become commonplace and needs to be reformed. At the back of it all, however, is the unhappy termination of his own love-affair, for in speaking of love, he says: "Noch hat sie mich nicht glücklich gemacht; und doch ist sie der Anker meines Lebens. Wir lieben schlecht. Die Liebe ist kein grosser Kultus mehr, Hymens Fackel ist der einheizende Ofen der Familienstube geworden, und Amor ist nicht mehr blind, sondern nur blödsichtig." [71] Again he exclaims: "Ich rufe jeden echten Sohn der Zeit auf, ob er ein Herz gefunden, das seiner hohen geflügelten Seele genügt? . . . Man liebt nicht mehr idealisch, nicht einmal originell: die Liebe ist eine Tradition geworden, welche von der Vergangenheit borgt, und deren höchste Freude die ist, in der Tat an ihrem Leibe die Mittel zu besitzen, das Ding so zu treiben, wie es von jeher in der Welt getrieben worden ist. Es ist so viel unnütze Unschuld verbreitet worden, dass alle heiratsfähigen Weiber dieser Zeit wie Kinder zu betrachten sind." [72]

This state of affairs Gutzkow thinks is due to woman's intellectual inferiority. Here again he has Rosalie in mind

Pagentracht folgen sollte, war wohl eher Kaled in Byrons Lara als irgendwelche Näherin in Heidelberg oder Berlin." (*Op. cit.*, 241.)

[70] Gensel, W., X, 168 f.

[71] *Ibid.*, 160.

[72] *Idem.*

when he states: "Sie verstehen uns ja gar nicht mehr: unsre Ausdrücke nicht, unsern Stil, unsre Gedanken, unsre Interessen. Sie scheinen nur da zu sein, um durch ängstliche Rücksichten den Flug unsres Wesens niederzuhalten." [73]

For these reasons Gutzkow believes that a reformation in love is just as important as any other social question of the day, and he wishes to assist in launching such a movement, similar to that of the sentimental period, when love was still a source of great inspiration: "Die Emanzipationsfragen leiten sie ein. Das Lächerliche an ihnen wird sich verflüchtigen: der Rest wird die Genialität der Liebe sein." [74]

As a corrective for the maimed and stunted love of his day, Gutzkow recommends the reading of Schlegel's *Lucinde,* "a masterly book, which endeavored to bring about a reconciliation in love between the flesh and the spirit," and he states his reasons: "Schlegel fühlte, was dem Vollgenusse der Liebe entgegensteht, die Bildung der Frauen selbst, oder wie Schleiermacher es noch deutlicher sagt, die Prüderie der deutschen Engländerinnen. Alle Ausmalungen von Weibern in der Lucinde sind der Schmerz, dass die Frauen nicht sind wie wir." [75] But in one important respect Gutzkow does not approve of *Lucinde.* The book is unreal and romantic and he believes that Schlegel himself considered it an "artistic anomaly." But Gutzkow looks upon this whole question as a social one,[76] and therefore he has edited Schleiermacher's *Vertraute Briefe,* because the latter has grasped and indicated the social implications and consequences.[77]

In proceeding to outline his own views regarding woman's emancipation, Gutzkow allows himself some very bold and

[73] *Ibid.,* 161.
[74] *Ibid.,* 160.
[75] *Ibid.,* 162.
[76] *Ibid.,* 163.
[77] *Ibid.,* 165.

extreme statements. It was only natural that many of his contemporaries should have interpreted them as a proclamation of the theory of free love. For Gutzkow frankly denounces the current conceptions of fidelity, and attributes "alle jene schon im Brautstande verkümmertern Ehen, jene Wassersuppenhochzeiten und die ganze Misere ordinärer Kindererzeugung und schimmelichter Broterwerbung" to the fear of being untrue to a first love.[78] Because of these false ideas regarding fidelity, a woman is chiefly intent on not having a "past." This constitutes her virtue which, however, is usually synonymous with prudery. Woman, therefore, lacks the great passion of love and can only attract men by a certain naiveté. To be sure, Gutzkow expressly safeguards himself against an extreme interpretation of his views by modifying his demand that women should emancipate themselves from their first love. "Ich meine nicht," he states, "dass sich die Resignation auf das Prinzip: aus der ersten Hand! so weit bei allen ausdehnen soll, dass man auch Poesie fände in der gesprengten Pforte."[79] But the real point that Gutzkow is driving at becomes evident from his final exhortation, in which he sums up his new doctrine: "Schämt euch der Leidenschaft nicht, und nehmt das Sittliche nicht wie eine Institution des Staates! Vor allen Dingen aber denkt über die Methodik der Liebe nach und heiligt euern Willen dadurch, dass ihr ihn freimacht zur freien Wahl! Der einzige Priester, der die Herzen traue, sei ein entzückender Augenblick, nicht die Kirche mit ihrer Zeremonie und ihren gescheitelten Dienern!"[80] Gutzkow insists that his views arise from a profound respect for what is truly moral,[81] and though his statements are carelessly and recklessly phrased, one cannot charge him with a frivolous purpose. He does not really

[78] *Ibid.*, 166.
[79] *Ibid.*, 167.
[80] *Ibid.*, 168.
[81] *Idem.*

advocate promiscuous mating, but he wishes to revitalize the dead institution of marriage and, therefore, desires to see it liberated from the fetters of the church.[82]

The fact that the *Vorrede* was suppressed in Prussia on April 21,[83] did not restrain Gutzkow from carrying out his idea of utilizing the novel as a "Blendlaterne des Ideenschmuggels."[84] He recognized, as he admits at the end of the *Vorrede,* that the doctrinaire tone employed by him was really a profanation of the subject, and that it was the proper function of the novel to elucidate these principles in a less offensive manner.[85] This professed purpose was one of the motives for writing *Wally, die Zweiflerin.*

It would be far beyond the scope of this essay to discuss minutely the genesis of *Wally* with the purpose of determining the relative importance of the various elements entering into the final conglomeration. Strauss' *Leben Jesu* as well as the suicide of Charlotte Stieglitz, the *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente* and a personal experience in the social life of Frankfurt[86] all had a share to a greater or lesser degree in shaping the final version.[87] We shall confine ourselves to a consideration of those elements having to do with the question of woman's emancipation and the relations of the sexes.

The close relationship between the *Vorrede* and *Wally*[88] and the significant influence of Gutzkow's experience with Rosalie[89]

[82] Proelss believes that Gutzkow's *Vorrede* contained the first clear statement of those ideas which finally led to the introduction of civil marriage. Cf. *op. cit.,* 553.

[83] Proelss, *op. cit.,* 617; cf. also Ludwig Geiger, *Das Junge Deutschland und die preussische Censur,* Berlin, 1900, p. 59.

[84] Cf. above, p. 90.

[85] Gensel, W., X, 168.

[86] Houben, W., XI, 162.

[87] For detailed accounts cf. Eugen Wolff, *op. cit.,* pp. IX–XLIX; Proelss, *op. cit.,* 562–580; Dresch, *op. cit.,* 209–219.

[88] This is also recognized by Wolff, *op. cit.,* p. XXXI.

[89] Cf. also Proelss, *op. cit.,* 564 f.

have already been commented upon. We shall not be surprised, therefore, to discover a close resemblance between the views expressed in these two works on the feminist questions, with the difference, however, that in *Wally* these views are quite secondary in importance and subordinated to the main purpose of the book. Furthermore, the insolent and heedless tone and manner of the *Vorrede* has been abandoned for a calmer and more objective attitude on the subject. Of the two works *Wally* is decidedly the less offensive, and it is difficult to understand why it should have called forth such a storm of protest and drawn upon itself such passionate abuse.

In the introduction to the second edition of *Wally*[90] Gutzkow states that *Wally* was primarily intended as a polemic against the pretensions of the theologians,[91] and in fact, the major portion of the book deals with Wally's religious doubts and despair and Caesar's "Confessions regarding Religion and Christianity." But in the *Vorrede* it was quite evident that Gutzkow's bitter antagonism towards the official representatives of the church was greatly increased by Rosalie's defection, and we may safely assume that this experience likewise influenced his attitude in *Wally*.[92]

Wally also betrays the influence of Gutzkow's experience with Rosalie in the comments on woman's low level of culture and her undeveloped intellectual capacities, just as the *Vorrede* stressed and emphasized woman's intellectual inferiority. Thus, for instance, Wally is shocked at times by "diese pflanzenartige

[90] The introduction bears the date of November, 1851. It is reprinted by Wolff, *op. cit.*

[91] Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, 273.

[92] Even the epithet "glattgescheitelt," which was a favorite appellation for the theologians in the *Vorrede*, reappears in *Wally*. Cf. Wally's entry in her diary concerning the *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente:* "Wie der Autor die Bibel zerfleischt, wie er in den glattgescheitelten Mienen jener Fischer und Zöllner, welche das Christentum predigten, den Schalk entdeckt." (*Ibid.*, 138.)

Bewusstlosigkeit, in welcher die Frauen vegetieren, diese Zufälligkeit in allen ihren Begriffen, in ihrem Meinen und Fürwahrhalten." [93] Caesar makes a point of showing his contempt for music, in order to bring home to the young ladies their vacuity, these young ladies who respond with music when one demands ideas of them,[94] and somewhat later Gutzkow remarks: "Was wären diese schmalen Brüste, diese gedankenlosen Köpfe ohne Gigots, ohne Pianoforte!" [95]

The views expressed on marriage are also closely in line with those in the *Vorrede*. Wally informs us in her diary that Caesar, who is to a certain extent the mouthpiece of Gutzkow, has a shocking opinion of marriage and absolutely refuses to consider it an institution of the church. According to his opinion the sacrament of wedlock is love and not the blessing of the priest.[96] Because of the levity with which marriages are usually entered into, Caesar believes that the State ought not to perform even the civil ceremony, until the contracting parties can prove their love by the existence of a child.[97] It is evident that what is here advocated is not abolition of marriage, but a reformation of it, a liberation from the blighting influence of the church and the strangling conventions of society.

It still remains for us to discuss the notorious "Sigune scene" which gave so much offense and which perhaps more than anything else caused Gutzkow to be denounced as an immoral and unprincipled sensualist.[98] It is this scene that was

[93] *Ibid.*, 56.
[94] *Ibid.*, 17 f.
[95] *Ibid.*, 22.
[96] *Ibid.*, 131; cf. this with the statement in the *Vorrede*, quoted above, p. 96: "Der einzige Priester, der die Herzen traue, sei ein entzückender Augenblick, nicht die Kirche mit ihrer Zeremonie und ihren gescheitelten Dienern." Cf. also Wolff, *op. cit.*, 141: "Caesar wird in Ländern wohnen, wo das französische Recht herrscht. Er ist glücklich, sich ohne die Kirche verheiraten zu dürfen."
[97] *Ibid.*, 69.
[98] Cf. Menzel's criticism: "Sein Roman ist voll kränklicher raffi-

supposed to implicate Gutzkow in the dissemination of the demoralizing doctrines concerning the emancipation of the flesh. Let us see on what facts these charges are based.

(Wally and Caesar have confessed their love for each other. But a consummation of their love in wedlock is impossible, because Wally has become engaged to the Sardinian Ambassador. Caesar now boldly requests her to enter into a spiritual union with him, in the symbolic manner of the union between Sigune and Tschionatulander. Wally is shocked at this proposal and brusquely leaves Caesar. Gutzkow states that Caesar had shown "die kindlichste Naivität, eine, rührende Unschuld," in making the request,[99] and Wally immediately regrets her decision: "Sie war sich mit ihrer Tugend recht abgeschmackt vorgekommen....Sie fühlte,...dass das Poetische höher steht, als alle Gesetze der Moral und des Herkommens."[100] Finally she writes to Caesar: "Ich schäme mich vor Ihnen, dass ich Scham hatte"[101] and accedes to his request. The scene itself is very briefly described as follows: \

"Es ist wie ein Traum in den tausend Nächten und der einen. Zur Rechten des Bildes aber im Schatten steht Tschionatulander im goldenen, an der Sonne funkelnden Harnisch, Helm, Schild und Bogen ruhen auf der Erde. Der Mantel gleitet von des jungen Helden Schulter, seine Locken wallen üppig wie von einem Westhauche gehoben. Das Auge staunt; ein Entzücken lähmt die Zunge. Zur Linken aber schwillt aus den Sonnennebeln heraus ein Bild von bezaubernder Schönheit: Sigune, die schamhafter ihren nackten Leib enthüllt, als ihn die Venus der Medicis zu bedecken sucht. Sie steht da, hilflos, geblendet von der Torheit der Liebe, die sie um dies Geschenk bat, nicht mehr Willen, sondern zerflossen in Scham, Unschuld und Hingebung. Sie steht ganz nackt, die hehre Gestalt mit jungfräulich schwellenden Hüften,

nierter, ausgedüftelter Wollust. Der Verfasser glaubt nicht pikant genug sein zu können und entblösst seine Geliebte gleichsam auf offner Strasse, um sich bemerklich zu machen." (*Literaturblatt*, Sept. 11, 1835. Reprinted in Wolff, *op. cit.*, 197.) Menzel also calls Gutzkow "Nuditätenmaler." (*Ibid.*, 199.)

[99] *Ibid.*, 73.

[100] *Ibid.*, 75.

[101] *Ibid.*, 78.

mit allen zarten Beugungen und Linien, welche von der Brust bis zur Zehe hinuntergleiten. Und zum Zeichen, dass eine fromme Weihe die ganze Üppigkeit dieser Situation heilige, blühen nirgends Rosen, sondern eine hohe Lilie sprosst dicht an dem Leibe Sigunens hervor und deckt symbolisch, als Blume der Keuschheit, an ihr die noch verschlossene Knospe ihrer Weiblichkeit. Alles ist ein Hauch an dem Bilde, ein stummer Moment. . . . Das Ganze ist ein Frevel; aber ein Frevel der Unschuld." [102]

We agree with Brandes' comment on this scene that Caesar's request is insane and the fulfillment of it ridiculous, but, as Brandes adds, the conception of this scene is so chaste and the exposition so tame, that it was an act of the greatest meanness to appeal to the police for help against the depravity of literature.[103]

Far from being an ardent adherent of the St. Simonistic doctrines, Gutzkow in *Wally* takes an independent and critical attitude towards them. Towards the conclusion of his critique of religion Caesar also examines among other recent phenomena the theories of St. Simonism. But he does not recognize them as a revolution in the realm of thought, but merely as a symptom of the age, their shortcomings being due to too much philosophizing.[104] This was precisely the criticism leveled at St. Simonism in the *Briefe eines Narren* in 1831.[105]

In summing up *Wally* we subscribe to the conclusion reached by Dresch: "*Wally* is not a work of woman's emancipation, but of human emancipation. Gutzkow has no admiration for woman; he only accords her a little sympathy and pity. If he speaks of her, it is only with reference to man, and for man; he himself has more than once confessed this, and the best commentary on *Wally* is contained in the words written by him in 1838: 'We seek the *free* man and not the *free* woman,—we seek the rehabilitation of the spirit and not of the flesh,—we

[102] *Ibid.*, 79 f.
[103] *Op. cit.*, 243.
[104] "Kränkelt an der Philosophasterei." Wolff, *op. cit.*, 177.
[105] Cf. above, p. 79.

seek God, not because we have lost him, but because he alone is truly blessed in God who has found him himself.'" [106]

We have heretofore intentionally refrained from seeking enlightenment on these questions and confirmation of our conclusions in Gutzkow's later statements regarding these works and this period of his life, for we wished to examine these works as impartially as possible without resorting to external aids for our exegesis. But now that we have concluded our preliminary investigation and established the main facts, we may safely go to Gutzkow himself for his testimony and see how far our conclusions are in accord with his own comments and interpretations.

In 1839 Hoffmann and Campe published a *Jahrbuch der Literatur* which contained as its first article an essay from Gutzkow's pen entitled *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* This is of very great importance, autobiographically and critically, for the history and psychology of the literary movement in the thirties.[107] One of the chapters bears the sub-title "Gedanken im Kerker," [108] and is a literal transcription from the diary which Gutzkow kept during his imprisonment in 1835. This was not intended for publication and there is no reason to doubt its sincerity. Regarding the underlying motives for writing *Wally,* we find the following interesting statement:

"Ich schrieb, so aber, dass es wie Raketen aufprasseln musste; Wirkungen berechnete ich nicht, aber sie konnten da nicht ausbleiben, wo man dämonisch produzierte. Was ich denke, ist bald gestaltet; was ich anschaue, steht im Nu verkörpert da. Tendenz kenn' ich nicht, ob ich gleich die schönste habe, die es gibt, meine Überzeugung; aber Tendenz ist es nicht, die mich Wally schreiben liess. Mein Gemüt musste

[106] Dresch, *op. cit.,* 218. The quotation is from the essay *Henrik Steffens* (1838), included in his *Öffentliche Charaktere.* Cf. *Werke,* 1872, IX, 327.

[107] Cf. Houben, W., X, 8. The essay is reprinted in Houben, W., XII, 52–111.

[108] *Ibid.,* 91–97.

Frieden haben; die letzte Anstrengung, wie eine vulkanische Eruption, musste ihr noch einmal vorangehen. St. Simonismus, Wiederherstellung des Fleisches, junges Deutschland; kenne von dem allen nichts, kenne mein Herz nur, mein Leben, meine Toten. . . . Strafbar ist es vielleicht, seine Gemütsumwälzungen öffentlich in Szene zu setzen; strafe man mich! Aber meine Zukunft mache mir niemand unmöglich!" [109]

This is a striking substantiation of the conclusions we had reached above. Gutzkow was not deliberately attempting to make converts for radical theories concerning the relations of the sexes, but was merely giving vent to his pent-up emotions after his unhappy experience with Rosalie, and is ready to admit that it was injudicious to do so and is willing to suffer the consequences. Rosalie's defection is likewise referred to in the chapter directly preceding the "Gedanken im Kerker," when, after enumerating all the various elements which had an influence on the questionable character of Young German literature, he adds that there were also personal experiences which cannot be mentioned, but which had to do with the "Philistinism of a timorous, prudish and materialistic society." [110]

In the chapter on Heinrich Laube he is outspoken in condemning eroticism and licentiousness, and he denies that there were any such motives in his own works. Thus in discussing Laube's novel *Das Junge Europa* he states:

"Von mir selbst muss ich eingestehen, dass ich dieses Buches niemals froh geworden bin und mich namentlich an der Verbindung ärgerte, die hier zwischen der emanzipierten Liebe und der Hingebung an politische Ideen stattfand. Die letztern schienen mir durch jene verunreinigt zu sein; sie wurden es auch. Man kann, was ich selbst getan habe, die nach dem Freiesten und Göttlichsten ringende Liebe schildern und die Schönheiten und Irrtümer eines solchen Idealismus in Herzen entstehen lassen, die die Freiheit wie ihr Leben lieben; man kann, wie es mir selbst geschehen ist, in der glühendsten und durch äussre Umstände unglücklichen Neigung für ein weibliches Wesen sich zu Trotz und verzweifelter Bitterkeit gegen Sitte und Gesetz hinreissen lassen und

[109] *Ibid.*, 96.
[110] *Ibid.*, 90.

alle die Schranken zertrümmern wollen, welche uns in kalter Herzlosigkeit den Besitz unsres Ideals verweigern; aber jener Gedanke, dass unsre Poesie an die matten, wenn auch geistreichen Sinnlichkeitsgemälde eines Heinse wieder anknüpfen sollte, ist mir ästhetisch und moralisch von jeher so zuwider gewesen, dass ich dies ewige Lanzenbrechen der Laubeschen Helden, diese Buhlereien von hundert Weibern um *einen* Mann . . . verwarf." [111]

This severe criticism of Laube was not an afterthought, nor an attempt to clear himself by accusing someone else, for, as we have seen above, he had already expressed his disapproval of this novel as early as 1833.

In a similar fashion Gutzkow points out his own relative innocence compared with the regular system of St. Simonistic doctrines as evolved by Theodor Mundt:

"Mundt hatte sich tief in Rahel verlesen, er hatte den St. Simonismus als System vollständiger gekannt, als ich ihn *noch* kenne. Er war es, der das vollständigste Register aller sozialen Neuerungen auswendig wusste und in der *Madonna* ordentlich ein System desselben entwickelte. Ich gestehe kleinmütig, dass ich die Rehabilitation des Fleisches erst von ihm lernte, nachdem ich längst in ihrem Interesse sollte geschrieben haben, ja dass ich sie in der *Madonna* erst fand, als man später darauf aufmerksam machte! Ich schwamm wohl in einer neuen Ideenwelt, hatte aber nicht so viel feste Inseln in ihr entdeckt wie Mundt, der frischweg aus dem St. Simonismus und aus Rahel in sein System übersetzte, was den herrschenden Sitten nur irgend widersprach." [112]

During his imprisonment in Mannheim in 1835, Gutzkow was also engaged in writing a philosophical essay which was published in 1836 under the title *Zur Philosophie der Geschichte,*[113] and in which he expresses his impatience with the St. Simonistic idea of woman's emancipation, calling it "die

[111] *Ibid.,* 69. For similar statements cf. also pp. 70 and 100.

[112] *Ibid.,* 85 f. Cf. also the following statement: "Laubes Frivolität und Unreife musste der entgelten, der sie verabscheute. Mundts Frauenemanzipation und Fleischwiedereinsetzung kam als System auf die Rechnung dessen, der nur einzelne Szenen und Aussprüche gegeben hatte, die man im Sinne desselben deuten konnte." (*Ibid.,* 88 f.)

[113] *Ibid.,* XI, 177. The title was later changed to *Philosophie der Tat und des Ereignisses.*

albernste Idee, die unser Zeitalter ausgeheckt hat" and stating that the St. Simonists were "überwiegend verrückt."[114] Gutzkow's contempt for this whole question is also apparent from an article entitled "Karl Immermann in Hamburg."[115] Immermann had confessed to Gutzkow that he took a keen interest in all questions relating to the nature of woman and her mission, that he realized how easy it was to make these discussions seem ridiculous, but that this was no argument against their relative value. Gutzkow nevertheless comments skeptically: "Es schien mir fast, als wenn ihn die Bekanntschaft mit irgend einer exzeptionellen weiblichen Natur so begeistert von einer Frage reden liess, bei der man auf jedem Schritt in die Gefahr gerät, aus einem tiefsinnigen Denker um die Breite eines Haares ein Phantast zu werden."[116]

Furthermore, instead of finding Gutzkow criticizing the institution of marriage and upholding the theories of free love, we discover him to be an ardent champion of marriage as one of the foundations of civilization. In the *Säkularbilder*[117] he inveighs against those poets who, by grossly depicting domestic strife and matrimonial troubles, undermine morality. His own faith in marriage is formulated in the following words: "Die Ehe bleibt und ist ein Hebel der Kultur und kann weder von dem freien Weibe St. Simons, noch von Lelias spitzfindig sinnlichen Grübeleien untergraben werden. Die Tatsache derselben ist so einfach, ihr logischer Grund so natürlich, dass eine Erschütterung unmöglich ist."[118]

[114] *Werke,* 1872, XII, 147.

[115] Originally published in the *Telegraph,* 1840, Nr. 152–153, and later included in the series *Öffentliche Charaktere.*

[116] Houben, W., VIII, 153.

[117] Originally published in 1837 as *Die Zeitgenossen* under the pseudonym of E. L. Bulwer.

[118] *Werke,* 1872, VIII, 326; cf. also p. 327, where he continues in a similar strain: "Den Junggesellen sollte es gelingen, uns den ehelichen Stand zu verleiden? Sie sollten Macht gewinnen, einen Pantheismus

There were many instances in which Gutzkow felt called upon to defend himself against unjust accusations and insinuations. Thus in 1837 he contributed a five page article to the columns of the *Telegraph*,[119] pointing out the injustice and misconceptions of Karl Hase, Professor of Theology at Jena, whose Latin oration " de carne mancipato seu rehabilitato, de Wallyde sceptica, de matrimonio extra ecclesiam sive de polygamia " had now appeared in a German translation.[120] Gutzkow is particularly incensed because he and his fellow-authors have been accused by the opponents of Young Germany of having evolved a regular system of " demokratischem Chiliasmus und abgestandenem französischem Unsinn." Prof. Hase has, he declared, committed this same fundamental error. He takes no account of the individual authors nor of the motivation for their several works, he does not even charge them with licentiousness and dissoluteness, but accuses them of formulating a system of St. Simonistic doctrines. Gutzkow bitterly resents the assumption that the eccentric remarks in his *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers Lucinden Briefen* had anything to do with the St. Simonistic system, and insists that they were caused by disgust with certain theological tendencies and that they must be explained by personal experiences.

One month later[121] Gutzkow reviews at length Henrik Steffens' novel in three volumes entitled *Revolution* and calls it " die gehässigste Insinuation, die uns die Ketzermacherei der

der Geschlechtsneigung zu predigen, der zur Auflösung aller Sitte und Ordnung führen würde? Ich verdenke ihnen nicht, dass sie sich rächen, . . . allein dass sie deshalb in der Ehe logische und metaphysische Widersprüche zu entdecken glauben, das ist eine Verblendung, von welcher es mir früher leid tat, sie von einer so geistvollen Schriftstellerin, wie die Verfasserin der Lelia ist, geteilt zu sehen."

[119] August, 1837, No. 24, pp. 185 ff.

[120] Karl Hase, *Das junge Deutschland, ein theologisches Votum*, 1837. For brief discussion cf. Proelss, *op. cit.*, 720 f.

[121] September, 1837, *Telegraph*, No. 41–45, pp. 321–358.

neuesten Zeit gebracht hat." He again complains that the most absurd and extravagant ideas of Father Enfantin regarding emancipation and the like are attributed to his supposed disciples, and he implores his readers to recognize at least his "sacred seriousness" even if he cannot dissipate their prejudices entirely.[122]

Even in the *Rückblicke auf mein Leben,* written towards the end of his life, Gutzkow takes occasion to define emancipation of the flesh, "von welcher in der unsinnigsten Weise von damaligen Anklägern und noch immer in den Lehrbüchern der Literaturgeschichte ... gefabelt wird," as signifying nothing but rehabilitation of the natural, "flesh" being used in the biblical sense in contrast with "spirit."[123]

If we now search for indirect evidence in Gutzkow's literary work subsequent to *Wally,* the result is equally striking and conclusive. For we do not find a single word or scene that betrays any predilection for eroticism or licentiousness, and woman's emancipation or St. Simonism in any radical sense, if mentioned at all, evokes either sarcastic comment or is rejected altogether. To give but a few illustrations, the romantic satire *Die literarischen Elfen*[124] was directed against Mundt and the current literature of woman's emancipation which constantly made use of the name George Sand.[125] Speculantia, the eldest daughter of one of the mighty spirits of the Harz, has a decidedly modern bent of mind. Her words, her eyes and her actions betray a vague longing. She has read Rahel and Charlotte Stieglitz, she takes a keen interest in Young

[122] This essay was later included in *Öffentliche Charaktere.* Cf. *Werke,* 1872, IX, 306–327, where, however, it is erroneously dated as 1838.

[123] Houben, W., XI, 155 f.

[124] Originally published in the *Telegraph,* 1838, No. 31 ff.; then included in the *Skizzenbuch,* 1839, and finally incorporated in the *Rückblicke auf mein Leben.* Cf. Houben, W., XI, 205–260.

[125] Cf. Dresch, *op. cit.,* 308 f.

Germany and has wept bitter tears over the Federal Decree of 1835. She also admires and worships George Sand and is finally granted an interview, listening devoutly to the words of wisdom issuing from the lips of her idol. But George Sand does not hold forth on the emancipation of woman, but advises Speculantia that the state, society, and science are the proper province of man, and that woman is made for love alone. Woman's mission is to be joined to a man, to vindicate love and self-sacrifice over against the egotism of man. "To know, to excuse, to understand is for every woman an indispensable duty." After this meeting with George Sand Speculantia returns to her subterranean palace and marries the "Alpenkönig."

Very illuminating also regarding Gutzkow's attitude on this subject are a few isolated remarks jotted down in his notebook containing sketches and ideas for dramatic treatment. Thus under the caption *Torheiten der Zeit* he lists among other things *Die gelehrten Frauen* and *Die emanzipierten Frauen.*[126] He scoffs at this question in a somewhat more elaborate comedy sketch entitled *Die Blaustrümpfe,*[127] while a similar idea is contained in *La femme incomprise.*[128]

A good illustration for Gutzkow's contemptuous treatment of this theme of woman's emancipation is furnished by the play *Die stille Familie* (1841).[129] One of the principal characters in this play is Auguste, a married woman, who serves as the type for the modern emancipated woman. She chafes

[126] Page 65 of the first notebook, designated by Houben as n^1. Cf. Houben, *Studien,* 28 f. According to Houben's ingenious method the approximate date is 1841–1842. Cf. *ibid.,* 7.

[127] n^1, p. 168. Published in Müller, *op. cit.,* 27 f. The approximate date is 1843. Cf. Houben, *Studien,* 11.

[128] n^1, p. 77. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.,* 25. The approximate date is 1842. Cf. Houben, *Studien,* 7.

[129] This play was never performed and was printed only in manuscript. A detailed analysis and discussion, however, can be found in Müller, *op. cit.,* 32–52.

under the restrictions of her home and, therefore, the new doctrine of greater freedom for women which has come to Germany from across the Rhine makes a temporary appeal to her. But in the end virtue is victorious and the sanctity of wedlock is maintained, as indicated by the following words: "O mag er es von Ihnen erfahren, dass es noch Frauen gibt, die dem Getümmel der Welt, das Glück der stillen Familie, Frauen, die der schimmernden Schellenkrone *fränkischer Freiheit das sanfte Joch der deutschen Liebe* vorziehen." [130]

In seeking to determine Gutzkow's attitude towards woman's emancipation and free love, we may also take into account his own personal life. The outstanding fact here is that at the very moment when he was accused of undermining morality and the institution of marriage, he became formally betrothed and soon after his discharge from prison contracted a conventional marriage "in order to gratify my longing for hearth and home and all the virtues that are said to dwell therein." [131] Wolfgang Menzel's base insinuations that Gutzkow led an unchaste life were without foundation.

Before concluding this chapter we must still consider the charge that was frequently made against Gutzkow in later years that he lacked courage, since his later views were supposed to be inconsistent with those expressed in the *Vorrede* and *Wally*. The *Hallische Jahrbücher,* for instance, published an article by Karl Biedermann [132] who was unable to reconcile Gutzkow's present attitude with his former viewpoint. Gutzkow replied in the *Telegraph* that he had never given any cause to be charged with immorality, and that he cannot become frivolous, immoral and insipid now merely to please Biedermann and to give him an opportunity to write long dissertations in refuta-

[130] Italics are Gutzkow's. Cf. *ibid.,* 53.

[131] *Rückblicke.* Houben, W., XI, 156.

[132] "Die junge Literatur und ihr Prinzip in der Reform des Geschlechtsverhältnisses," *Hallische Jahrbücher,* No. 176–182, July 24–31, 1838.

tion thereof. And Gutzkow is quite justified in asserting that in comparison with himself Mundt, Kühne and Laube, whom Biedermann treats so leniently, were the most subservient lackeys as regards the frank avowal of religious and political convictions.[133]

We have endeavored to show that Gutzkow never was deeply interested in and that he never gave his unqualified approval to the St. Simonistic theories of emancipation and free love. Up to the year 1835 there was nothing whatsoever in his works that could implicate him in the propagation of these ideas. The only works that seem to proclaim these doctrines were the *Vorrede zu Schleiermachers Briefen über die Lucinde,* and *Wally, die Zweiflerin,* and both of these, as we have seen, were written under the stress of great emotion. They were an embittered protest against the pretensions of the church and the fossilized conventions of society which had robbed him of his fiancée. The *Vorrede* which contained the most reckless statements was, as Brandes puts it,[134] "knabenhaft geschmacklos" and "burschikose Prahlerei," but his main contention was not that marriage should be abolished, but that it should be placed on a civil basis and freed from the authority of the church. To this principle he adhered until the very end of his life. In the Journal which was discovered in his death-chamber we find the same idea expressed in verse:

> "Erst wenn der Türme Zungen schweigen,
> Die Orgel nicht mehr brausend ruft,
> Ein Pfaffe in die Hochzeitsreigen
> Nicht treten darf an Lebensgruft,
> Wird blühen uns des Geistes Mai
> Und Menschheit atmen gross und frei."[135]

[133] Cf. *Telegraph,* No. 68, April, 1839, pp. 537–541.

[134] *Op. cit.,* 240 f.

[135] Dresch, *op. cit.,* 461. Dresch has printed in the appendix to his book all the passages from the Journal which he was able to decipher. Cf. pp. 458–463.

CONCLUSION

Gutzkow is not a woman's poet. He is neither, like Klopstock, a sentimental and seraphic singer of woman's virtue and nobility, nor, like Hebbel, a champion of woman's right to her own individuality. The generation to which Gutzkow belonged showed an increasingly lively interest in the problem of woman's independence and made marked progress toward its solution. But Gutzkow himself, who took a keen interest and active part in all the multitudinous questions of the day, whether social, political or religious, literary, artistic or educational, had only mild sympathy for the feminist movement and did not bestir himself very actively in furthering it. This lack of interest was no doubt largely due to his own unhappy experiences with women, for with the exception of the few brief years during which he basked in the sunlight of Therese's love, his relations with the other sex were not of the kind to produce an idealistic conception of womankind.

The unhappiness in Gutzkow's relations with women must be attributed partly to unfortunate circumstances. In part, however, the explanation must be sought in his own character and temperament. His capacity for happiness was sharply limited, not merely in his love relationships, but in every other contact with humanity. Something like an elemental force within him drove him restlessly on from experience to experience. He felt a constant need of change and of new environment. He never attained to a state of inner composure, nor found lasting satisfaction in his acts or his occupation or his friends.

This same characteristic also affected Gutzkow's love relations. There was a constant conflict waging in his soul be-

tween love and ambition, a struggle which he frequently represents in his work. In the first part of *Seraphine,* which is admittedly autobiographical, he made a confession, which applies not merely to his early love-affair with Leopoldine Spohn, but which holds equally true of his later life:

"Ich verliess die Schule und fiel mit Hast über alles her, was meinen Geist und mein Herz bereichern konnte. Ich war noch rein und fromm in meinen Gefühlen, ich war ehrgeizig, aber nicht anders, als in der Absicht, mich dem Allgemeinen zu opfern, mein Ehrgeiz zerfloss in das blaue Licht meiner Ideale. Aber der Zwiespalt zwischen Herz und Welt nagte schon früh an meinem Leben. Ich wollte für jenes Eroberungen machen und konnt' es nur, wenn ich diese aufgab. Ich wollte mich in das Verständnis der Begebenheiten, lernend und teilnehmend, werfen und konnt' es wieder nur, wenn ich meinem Herzen keine Fesseln anlegte."[1]

No matter how earnestly, then, Gutzkow longed for woman's love and felt the need of it to sustain him in his arduous tasks, its attainment invariably brought disagreeable consequences. It burdened him with obligations and hampered him in his freedom, so that the blessing turned into a curse. This accounts for his frequent fickleness of sentiment and explains his constant hesitation between two women, beginning with his attitude of uncertainty as between Leopoldine Spohn and her sister, an episode which significantly foreshadows future complications. Here also is to be found the cause of his wistful recollection of Rosalie when he has failed to find his ideal in his wife Amalie, as he represents it in *Werner,* and of the bitter struggle between his love for Therese and his duty to Amalie, which finds expression in *Die Selbsttaufe* and *Ein weisses Blatt.* Finally it helps to an understanding of his strange revulsion of feeling when death had deprived him of Amalie and there was no further obstacle to a union with Therese. As soon as the goal is within reach, it loses its previous glamour, the gold turns to dross. This radical change

[1] *Werke,* 1845, III, p. 74.

of sentiment we have seen mirrored in *Ottfried* and in the relations between Helene d'Azimont and Egon von Hohenberg in *Die Ritter vom Geist.* The weakness of character which the man in Gutzkow's triangular love conflicts so frequently betrays is a characteristic which our author himself showed throughout his relations to women.

In the second chapter, the examination of our author's works with reference to his experiences has shown that throughout his career from the *Sadduzäer von Amsterdam* to *Die Ritter vom Geist* his relations with women are faithfully reflected. From this standpoint it has been possible to gain a better understanding and appreciation of many of the problems which he treats and of his female types. Here, however, our field has necessarily been limited in the main to a consideration of plot and character.

In the works considered in the third chapter, where theory and *Tendenz* play a more important part, the inquiry could be broadened and more significant results expected. Here the investigation has shown the determining influence of personal experiences on the radical views expressed in the *Vorrede* and in *Wally* and will be found, we believe, to throw further light on this dark and frequently misinterpreted chapter in Gutzkow's life. It has, to be sure, also shown that his share in the promulgation in Germany of revolutionary ideas regarding woman's emancipation and free love was very small indeed.

On the basis of what has been set forth and of further evidence from his work, we shall now try to present as definitely as the facts permit a summary of Gutzkow's conception of woman and his attitude toward love and marriage.

For an understanding of Gutzkow's conception of womankind it is again in his own experiences that we must look for the key. Even in his early boyhood there were incidents that did not cultivate an uncritical and idealistic attitude toward

women. While he testifies to his love and adoration for his mother, his sensibilities were rudely shocked by the many bitter quarrels between his parents, by his uncle's recital of matrimonial difficulties and by his elder brother's realistic accounts of his numerous love-affairs. Gutzkow's involuntary engagement to Leopoldine Spohn in his eighteenth year tended to make him critical and cynical. His relationship with Rosalie at first, to be sure, gave promise of a happy union. She seemed to fulfill his ideal of womanhood. But soon there developed difficulties of various kinds, principally religious differences, which finally resulted in a complete rupture. We can best describe the far-reaching effect of such a disappointment in love in the words of our author himself in the *Zauberer von Rom:* "Eine verlorene Liebe ist wie eine zerstossene Perle, die den Becher eines ganzen Lebens würzt—wie ein Tropfen zerflossenen Goldes, womit ein Maler auf der Palette seine sämtlichen Farben mischt."[2] The specific influence of Rosalie's defection on Gutzkow's thought and work is set forth by him in his *Rückblicke auf mein Leben:* "Die Abneigung, die in mir entstanden war, die Verhimmelungen der lyrischen Muse über den Wert der Frauen zu teilen und beim Schreiben speziell nur der Frauen zu gedenken, denen vorzugsweise zu huldigen, kurz auf Gedankenkreise einzugehen, an denen den Frauen nach Goethe am meisten gelegen sein müsse . . . blieb; sie blieb in meinem *Blasedow und seine Söhne* fast bis zum Zynischen. . . . Nur für Männer wollte und konnte ich schreiben."[3]

We have already pointed out that up to Gutzkow's break with Rosalie, woman played a very insignificant part in his work. It was the religious and political questions of the day which absorbed him. Henceforth woman figures more prominently;

[2] Dritte Auflage, Leipzig, 1869, Book VI, Vol. I, p. 101.
[3] Houben, W., XI, 27 f.

but for years to come his female types and his reflections on woman in general reveal his shattered faith in womanhood. Judith in the *Sadduzäer von Amsterdam* is a weak woman, who does make an attempt to rise to the lofty heights of her lover Uriel, but then lacks the strength of character and will to stand by him, when her own cherished beliefs are at stake. The *Vorrede* and *Wally,* as we have seen, lay great stress on woman's intellectual inferiority. The novelette *Seraphine,* published in 1837, but actually completed during Gutzkow's imprisonment,[4] deals with the motive of scepticism in love. The method of treatment is aptly described by Seraphine's first lover, Arthur Stahl, when he says: "Mit meinem terroristischen Skalpell anatomierte ich ihre Seele."[5] Considering Gutzkow's frame of mind at the time of writing it, we can easily forecast the result. The ruthless analysis of Seraphine's character which follows is coldly destructive. One passage will suffice to indicate that Gutzkow's conception of woman had undergone no change from that proclaimed with so much asperity in the *Vorrede.* Arthur gives vent to his grief by confiding to his faithful friend Fritz Federer:

"Sieh, Fritz, Seraphine hat Geist. Sie hat sogar Verstand und im Verstande Witz: Fremde ziehet sie stundenlang auf und erträgt ein Gespräch, wo die feinsten Saiten klingen. Wenn ich mich aber hinreissen lasse und ihr *meine* Begriffe zu entwickeln beginne, dann bleibt sie in ihren Entgegnungen immer beim Trivialen, Angelernten, bei der Phrase sitzen. Ich weiss, sie sind freilich alle so, die sich vorzugsweise höher dünkenden weiblichen Naturen. Alle haben sie sich die gefühlvollen Gemeinplätze über Liebe, Religion und Leben zu eigen gemacht und fallen, wenn du aus des Gedankens tiefstem Borne schöpftest, dir in die Flanken mit ihrem schon alles Gewusshaben. Fritz, sie verstehen dich gleich, wenn du noch gar nicht fertig bist, und wenn du sie reden lässest und frägst nun, was sie denn glaubten, dass du meintest, dann sagen sie gerade die Sätze, die du bekämpfst, die ausgedroschenen Strohkissen, auf welchen sich die egoistischen schönen Seelen ausruhen!"[6]

[4] Houben, W., XI, 177.
[5] *Werke,* 1845, III, 99.
[6] *Ibid.,* 99 f.

The criticism leveled at women in *Wally,* namely that they have substituted music for intellectual attainments, comes out again in the *Säkularbilder:*

"Was vermisst man bei einem grossen Teil unsrer Frauen? Esprit. Der Grund dieses Mangels liegt auf der Hand. Esprit ist eine gefährliche Geistesgabe, Mitgift in einem Zeitalter, wo man die Beschränktheit Gemüt, die Frivolität Geist nennt und den 'Esprit' in allen Literaturgeschichten verschrieen hat. Aber der Ersatz, den wir für die 'Frauen von Geist' durch die Mendelssohn-Singerinnen bekommen haben, ist kein Fortschritt." [7]

Gutzkow's acerbity towards woman is especially pronounced in the novel *Blasedow und seine Söhne* (1838), which he himself has singled out as an illustration of his cynical views. A selection from Blasedow's farewell letter, his legacy to his sons, typifies the treatment accorded to women. It sums up the teachings Blasedow had instilled in them and provides them with wise maxims for their future guidance. Among other things he also cautions them against the shallowness of women and exhorts them to be proud in their relations with the other sex:

"Im Umgang mit Frauen seid stolz! Das ist das einzige Mittel, hier Strudel, Klippen und Sümpfe zu vermeiden. Wer vor Frauen scheu ist, wird in Gefahr kommen, jede für liebewert zu halten, und keine Gefahr ist grösser. Sprecht ihr mit Frauen, so haltet den Kopf unverrückt in die Höhe und wendet *ihn* nicht, sondern nur die Augen, je nach euren Einfällen und Affekten. Erwägt noch Eins! Lasst euch von Frauen nicht überflügeln! Denn, da sie nicht nötig hatten, das zu lernen, was *ihr* wisst und noch lernen müsset, so konnten sie ihrem kleinen Inhalte bald eine Form geben. Sie imponieren euch durch ihre Abrundung. Bedenkt dies! Was sie haben, bieten sie auf *einmal.* Sie haben im Hintergrunde der Vortruppen, mit welchen sie harçelieren, nur noch *sich* selbst, ihre Person, das, was sie ihr Herz nennen und was selten mehr als ihre Eitelkeit ist. Wisset ihr das, kann es euch da noch schwer fallen, Frauen für zu unbedeutend zu halten, als dass ihr sie zum Mittelpunkte eures jungen Lebens macht?" [8]

[7] *Werke,* 1872, VIII, 321 f.
[8] *Werke,* 1845, Vol. VII, 311.

As a further instance of this harshness towards women we may quote the contemptuous verses from the tragedy *König Saul* (1839), which Houben has cited in his study of *Uriel Acosta:* [9]

> "Weiber wissen nur
> Den Wert des Mann's nach dem zu schätzen, was
> Bequem für sie. Wann gäbe wohl ein Weib,
> Wenn ihrem Freund die Wahl gelassen bliebe,
> Ob er an ihrem Busen feige heissen,
> Ob Mann von ihr getrennt er wolle sein,
> Den Ausschlag dorthin, wo Entsagung sich
> Mit ihres Freundes Lorbeer'n trösten muss?" [10]

Beginning with the year 1839, however, a slight change may be noted in Gutzkow's attitude toward women. In *Richard Savage* which ushered in his dramatic career, the actress Miss Ellen is loving and devoted, and courageously stands by her friend Richard, even though her love is unrequited. Likewise in *Werner oder Herz und Welt,* both Julie von Jordan and Marie Winter are more sympathetically drawn than his previous woman characters. Immediately after the performance of *Werner,* Gutzkow began work on a new play, *Gräfin Esther,* of which only the first two acts were eventually completed.[11] In the third act Esther was to become the mistress of the ruling prince for altruistic reasons, "mit dem edelsten Gefühl für Sittlichkeit, ohne von Glanz und Reichtum geblendet zu sein, rein in dem Glauben, sie könne dem bessern Selbst eines wilden, aufbrausenden und mit dem Wohle seiner Untertanen spielenden Fürsten zur Retterin werden. . . ." [12]

At first blush one is inclined to attribute this change in Gutzkow's conception of woman to the influence of his wife Amalie. But as we have shown above, Gutzkow's relations with his

[9] *Gutzkow-Funde,* p. 352.
[10] Act III, Scene 3.
[11] Included in *Vor- und Nach-Märzliches,* Leipzig, 1850.
[12] *Ibid.,* 47.

wife were not of a kind to cause a profound alteration in his views of her sex. As a matter of fact no such change was evident in his works during the first few years of his married life. Moreover, we cannot account for this new point of view by reference to Therese, for she had not yet entered his life. A perfectly natural explanation, however, can be found in the simple fact that the passing of the years had rendered his personal suffering less intense and somewhat healed his wounds. Besides, outside the sphere of his personal life, there had been and still were in the public eye many women who were possessed of keen intellectual powers and who were capable of personal heroism and self-sacrifice. Apart from Rahel, Bettina, and Charlotte Stieglitz, Gutzkow specifically mentions the wife of Wilhelm Schulz of Darmstadt, who freed her husband, a political prisoner, from a fortress,[13] and Proelss lists many other instances of similar acts of devotion and bravery.[14]

But it is principally after Therese von Bacheracht has furnished him with the inspiration that we meet with such idealized women characters as the talented Eveline Steiner in *Ein weisses Blatt,* the brilliant Sidonie von Büren in *Die Selbsttaufe* and the heroic Judith Vanderstraaten in *Uriel Acosta.*

As soon as Therese was eliminated from his life, his former prejudices against women reassert themselves. Sidonie von Büren in *Ottfried* now loses much of her previous charm. She still retains her intellectual and artistic distinction, but she has degenerated into an unsympathetic coquette. Helene d'Azimont in *Die Ritter vom Geist* likewise betrays the influence of Gutzkow's rupture with Therese. Her selfish and unreasoning love is an obstacle in the path of Egon's highest ambition.

Throughout *Die Ritter vom Geist* we find harsh judg-

[13] Houben, W., XI, 27.
[14] *Op. cit.,* 792.

ments of women. Egon is advised by his father: "Verlieb' dich nicht ernstlich, und lerne aus der Liebe zu den Weibern die leichteste Methode, sie zu verachten—!"[15] Siegbert Wildungen complains that women have no conception of man's duties: "Das Seltsamste ist, dass in diesen Frauenköpfen von den Lebenspflichten des Mannes so gut wie keine Vorstellung existiert. Der Weltbau kann in Trümmer gehen, wenn nur Platz zu ihrem Glücke bleibt. So unersättlich sind diese Leidenschaften in der grossen Welt, dass man zuletzt wirklich mit Wonne vor einem beschränkten Mädchen stehenbleiben würde, das noch Sternblümchen zerzupft und dabei fragt: 'Liebt er mich oder liebt er mich nicht'?"[16] Towards the end of the novel the author in person expatiates on the baneful influence of woman on man's personality: "Es ist ein unverwüstlicher Trieb der Frauen, die bedeutendere Natur der Männer nivellieren zu wollen, die allzu hohen Türme und Dächer der Manneskraft abzutragen, ja den Mann auf das Erdgeschoss zu verweisen. Sie ruhen nicht, bis derselbe Gott, den sie zu verehren vorgeben, klein, bedingt, geringfügig vor ihnen steht. Sie ruhen nicht, bis es nicht den Anschein hat, als wenn ein Mann mit all seinen irdischen oder geistigen Vorzügen, mit all seinen Erfahrungen und seinem gereifteren Wissen doch ihrer tief bedürftig und ohne sie verlassen wäre."[17]

Similar derogatory dicta regarding women also abound in the *Zauberer von Rom,* the following being a fair illustration: "Mit Geist und Charakter wollen die Frauen selten einen Mann. Sie wollen immer nur, wer ihnen schmeichelt oder amüsant ist oder im besten Falle Gemüt verrät, worunter sie etwas verstehen, was so viel ist wie unbedeutend."[18]

[15] Gensel, W., XIII, 284.
[16] *Ibid.,* XV, 88.
[17] *Ibid.,* 390 f.
[18] Book I, Vol. II, p. 93; cf. also Book I, Vol. I, p. 117, Book VIII, Vol. II, p. 7.

Briefly summed up, Gutzkow's attitude toward woman may be designated as one of haughty scorn. He entertains an equally cynical view regarding love between man and woman. To be sure, we must distinguish between love as an ideal and love as he actually found it. The former is eloquently described in the third book of the *Zauberer von Rom:* "Eine starke Waffe in allem Leid und bei aller Anfechtung der Seele ist dann eine reine Liebe. Eine reine Liebe reicht einen ehernen Schild dem Arm zum Kampfe gegen Leidenschaft und Ungeduld. Ihr Visir schützt das Auge, nichts zu sehen von den Lockungen der Welt. Reine Liebe hütet selbst die Träume. Ohne Kampf entwaffnet sie die Gedanken und verklärt sie mit himmlischem Licht, dass in uns nur das Gute und Edle lebt. Pflanze, o Jüngling, reine Liebe schon auf den ersten Ringplatz deiner Berührung mit der Welt! Reine Liebe im Herzen, wirst du im Alltäglichsten dich vom Duft des Schönen, vom Palmenfächeln des Grossen, vom Hosianna innerer Siege umweht fühlen—!" [19]

Such ideal love, however, Gutzkow believes to be very rare. In our discussion of the *Vorrede* we noted his constant harping on the fact that love had become commonplace and was in need of reform. Precisely the same criticism of love reappears in the *Säkularbilder* (1837): "Die Sympathie der Liebe verstärkt sich nicht mehr aus einer *allgemeinen* Sentimentalität wie im vorigen Jahrhundert. . . . Die Liebe fehlt wohl den Herzen nicht, allein sie hat an Ausdauer und Kraft verloren; sie unterwirft sich in unzählig öfteren Fällen den Rücksichten, als früher, sie duldet vielleicht mehr, als ehemals, allein an Mut und Unternehmungsgeist scheint sie, bis auf grelle Ausnahmen, verloren zu haben." [20]

Throughout his works there constantly recurs the remark

[19] Book III, Vol. I, p. 172 f.
[20] *Werke,* 1872, VIII, 324.

that love is egotistic, that it tends to deprive man of his freedom and initiative, that it stunts his intellectual and spiritual growth. In the historical tragedy *Wullenweber,* Gutzkow's views are put into the mouth of Meta Wullenweber, who, however, is a notable exception to the rule, proclaiming her unselfish love for Markus Meyer: "Sollt' ich's denn mit dem Markus machen, wie's die jungen Mädchen alle tun? Ich hab' dir meine Liebe geschenkt, nun will ich aber auch, dass du keinen andern Gedanken hast als bloss mich, dass du mein armselig Ich, das eben von der Puppe und vom Ringeltanz kommt, immer und immer auf dem Schoss hältst und dein schön frei Leben dazu verschwendest, mich, nur mich vergnügt zu machen! Ei, die leidige Liebe, die wunder was Grosses zu tun glaubt, wenn sie sich für ihre paar goldenen Herzenspfennige ein ganzes Königreich von Freiheit und Lebenslust von dem geliebten Mann einschachert!" [21]

Egon's scathing comment on Helene's love in *Die Ritter vom Geist* is particularly noteworthy: "Eine solche Liebe bleibt egoistisch. Sie klammert sich wie die zärtliche Umarmung der Schlingpflanze an uns an, will anfangs nur lieben, dienen, gehorchen, und bald ist uns das Mark der Seele, das Wachstum unserer Zweige ausgesogen, wir verdorren und sind nur noch der Schatten unserer selbst!" [22] Contrasted with this selfish love is the ideal relationship between Dankmar and Selma, of which Dankmar writes to his brother: "Das ist eben das Wesen einer gesunden und reinen Liebe, dass sie uns nichts von unserm Besten nimmt. . . ." [23]

Gutzkow's conception of marriage may be briefly stated in Schlachtenmaler's paradoxical answer to his father Blasedow's question as to his ideas of love: "Dass die Ehe zwar zu ver-

[21] Houben, W., III, p. 206.
[22] Gensel, W., XIV, 197.
[23] *Ibid.,* XV, 335.

meiden, aber nicht zu umgehen ist." [24] Gutzkow never advocated abolition of marriage; indeed, we have noted his positive pronouncement that marriage is one of the pillars of civilization.[25] But he fully realized that marriage as constituted was far from perfect and presented some grave problems. The chief difficulty, he believed, was not in the institution of marriage as such, but was due to the character of the contracting parties and could only be remedied by an improvement in the quality of love which leads to marriage. His attitude is clearly stated in the *Säkularbilder:* "Wenn wir auf mangelhafte Eheverhältnisse stossen, so sind diese nur die Folge eines Versehens, das schon im vorhergegangenen Stande der Liebe begangen wurde. Die Schriftsteller sollten weit mehr über *diese* nachdenken und die begleitenden Umstände der Aussenwelt erwägen, als dass sie sich in metaphysische Spitzfindigkeiten über die Ehe einlassen und wohl auf Formen des Barbarismus hinauskommen." [26] Although Gutzkow then proceeds to upbraid those authors who add to the confusion by picturing matrimonial discord, the great majority of marriages in his own works are unhappy ones. Typical examples are those of Blasedow in the novel under that title, of Justizrat Schlurck, Pastor Stromer, and the parents of the brothers Wildungen in *Die Ritter vom Geist,* and of Bonaventura's parents and the Oberst von Hülleshoven in *Der Zauberer von Rom.*

Gutzkow believes that similarity of ideals and temperament is essential for a happy and lasting union.[27] Of equal importance is mutual consideration and respect.[28] Where, however, the hearts are not united by the magnetic power of love,

[24] *Werke,* 1845, VIII, 175.
[25] Cf. Chap. III, p. 105.
[26] *Werke,* 1872, VIII, 325.
[27] *Die Nihilisten.* Houben, W., VI, 318.
[28] *Ibid.,* 316.

marriage becomes "an intolerable limitation of our personal freedom." [29]

Our author has no general panacea for the shortcomings of marriage. He makes different suggestions at various times for the correction of evils that tend to destroy the more ideal elements in the institution of marriage. Thus in the *Vorrede* he makes an impassioned appeal for the liberation of marriage from the authority of the church. At other times he inveighs against marriages of convenience,[30] or deplores the levity with which marriages are contracted. In the *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd,* for instance, he reviews, under the heading "Ehe- und Wehestand," a popular discussion of marriage in the *Illustriertes Haus- und Familien Lexikon,* and begins his review as follows: "Der wichtigste und schwierigste aller Stände im Menschenleben, bei dem selbst die Weisheit des Apostels Paulus unentschieden geblieben, ob er seinen Schülern *dazu* oder *davon* raten sollte, ist der Ehestand. Und doch wird kein Stand in der Welt im allgemeinen leichtfertiger und unbesonnener angetreten, als gerade dieser." [31]

Gutzkow seems to approve of divorce, judging from a passage in *Der Zauberer von Rom,* where Countess Erdmuthe von Salem-Camphausen discusses this question with Baroness Monika von Hülleshoven: "Fast alles, was uns die Apostel, ohnehin Sendboten des Herrn ohne Herd, ohne Familie, über die Ehe raten, gehört den weisen Ratschlägen an. . . . Da die Ehescheidung nicht wider den Geist Gottes, sondern nur gegen die apostolische Weisheit geht, so ist sie auch keine Sünde. Der Apostel sagt es ja selbst: 'Solches sage ich euch aus Vergunst, nicht aus Gebot.' Es sind—Vorschläge à discrétion. Auch spricht Paulus über die Frauen leider wie aus eigener

[29] *Die Söhne Pestalozzis,* Berlin, 1870, I, 60.
[30] Cf. *Säkularbilder. Werke,* 1872, VIII, 325.
[31] 1862, Dritte Folge, Vol. II, Nr. 15, p. 292.

bitterer Erfahrung und wie aus einem beinahe weltlichen Geist. Fest aber steht des Allmächtigen Wort: 'Es ist nicht gut, dass der Mensch allein sei!'" [32]

Finally it is worth noting that he seems to approve even of a sort of trial marriage as preferable to the untold suffering and despair of ill-matched couples. In the *Telegraph für Deutschland,* in the column of "Miscellanies," he mentions Goethe's suggestion that every marriage should last only five years, and that thereafter both parties are to decide whether they wish to continue "das Geschäft." He adds: "Käme dieser Vorschlag zur Ausführung, so wäre man wenigstens davor sicher, dass sich die Ehegatten aus Rücksicht auf das Missliche einer Ehescheidung ihr ganzes Lebenlang gegenseitig quälen und oft zum Elend leben." [33]

As a final judgment of his own married life, there is the extremely significant statement in his *Rückblicke,* with reference to Eduard Bauernfeld, that for an author celibacy is the wisest choice.[34]

[32] Book IV, Vol. I, p. 75.
[33] January, 1841, No. 3.
[34] Houben, W., XI, 318.

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